MEWAR AND THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

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(1526—1707 A.D.)



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WITH

A FOREWORD BY

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UDAIPUR
January 20, 1954

—G. N. SHARMA

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CHARTER



Tower of Fame

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Mewar,[1] the land of the heroic Guhilots,[2] has a romantic history that has hardly any parallel elsewhere. Its traditions and sober history have preserved the memory of the valour and exploits of her kings and commoners in defence of their home and hearth, religion and culture for a thousand years and invested it with an uniqueness which is all its own. This peculiar character of the country bids one to pause a little to examine some of the salient features of the land, the life of the people and their social institutions which rendered the inhabitants of Mewar such formidable enemies of the Mughal power.

The extent and natural condition of the country demands the first consideration. Prior to the Mughal conquest the

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1 Originally it was termed as 'MEDPAT'. The earliest reference to this word is found in a fragmentary piece of inscription, V.S. 1000, originally belonging to the Adivarah temple of Ahar, now it has been removed to Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur. The next reference is found in the photograph of the inscription (No. 30/126) dated the 15th of the bright-half of the Kartik, V.S. 1242 in the Commissioner's office, Udaipur, recently discovered by me.

2 Guhilot is the Rajasthani word for Sanskrit words like Guhilputra, Gohilputra, and Gohilya. After the name of Gohilya (566 A.D.) the house of this dynasty is fitly termed as Guhila-Vansh, in the association of the name of the chief progenitor of this dynasty. The reference to Guhil is made in the inscription of Aparajit of V.S. 718. (*Bengal Asiatic Society Journal*, 1935, p. 122; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 31; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1920-21, p. 34). It furnishes the names of Guhil, Bhoj, Mahendra, Shil and Aparajit.

nominal extent of Mewar had varied from time to time of which we have very little accounts. In the early days of its power and prosperity its limits touched Bayana in the north-east, Rewakanta and Mahikanta in the south, Palanpur in the west and Malwa in the south-east.[3] The repeated raids of the Turks, the Mughals and the Marathas nipped up the large dimension of Mewar into a narrow space between 23°49′ to 25°58′ north latitude and 73°1′ to 75°49′ east longitude, reducing its area to 12,691 sq. miles.[4] At present it is a Commissioner's Division in the State of Rajasthan.

This narrow and secluded territory has peculiar physical features which played an important part in shaping its history, and which may conveniently be discussed under the heads: western mountain chain, eastern plateau, southern mountains and forests and central plain.

The western mountain chain, the continuation of the Aravalli hills, which nature seemed to have placed as Mewar's permanent bulwark and boundary, engirdles the western skirts of Mewar from Diver in the north to Dewal in the south. Its highest peak is 4,315 feet at Jargas, near Kumbhalgarh.[5] These mountains have several passes, such as, Deosuri-nal, Jilwara-nal and Hatigudon-ki-nal, the only passes through which this area can be traversed. From this mountain chain numerous streams issue and make the low country the granary of Mewar.

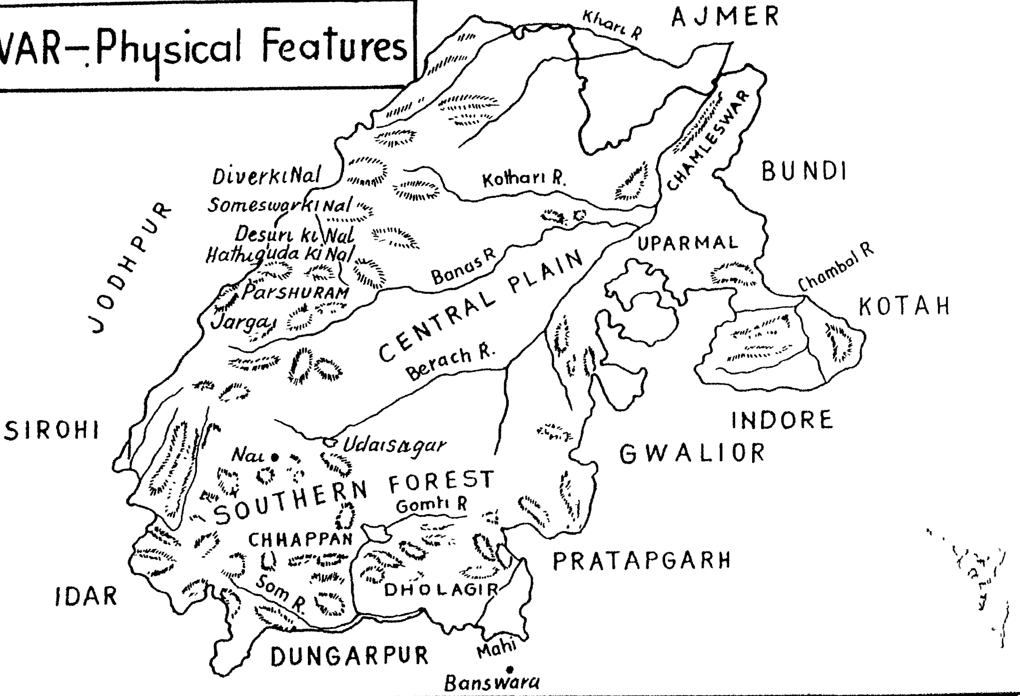
The eastern plateau is a hilly tract lower than the mountainous region of the west. Nowhere is it more than 2,000 feet above sea-level. This part of the country is also called

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3 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*—Rajputana, p. 111.

4 *Ibid*, p. 107.

5 A fortress in the western border of the Udaipur Division, situated in 25°9′ N and 73°35′ E, about 40 miles north of Udaipur City. It stands on a rocky hill, 3,568 ft. above sea-level. The fort is named after Rana Kumbha, who built it between 1443 and 1458 A.D. on the site of a still more ancient castle which tradition ascribes to Samprati, a Jain prince of the 2nd century B.C. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*—Rajputna, p. 136; and G.N. Sharma, *Maharana Bhupal College Magazine*, Vol. X, pp. 7-10.)


MEWAR—Physical Features
AJMER
Khari R
BUNDI
CHAMLESWAR
Kothari R.
Diverki Nal
Someswar ki Nal
Desuri ki Nal
Hathiguda ki Nal
Parshuram
Jarga
JODHPUR
Banas R
CENTRAL PLAIN
UPARMAL
Chambal R
KOTAH
Berach R.
INDORE
SIROHI
Udaisagar
Nai
GWALIOR
SOUTHERN FOREST
Gomti R
CHHAPPAN
PRATAPGARH
IDAR
Som R.
DHOLAGIR
DUNGARPUR
Mahi
Banswara

'*uparmal*',[6] a fertile plateau which attracted the Marathas to carry on their wanton aggression on Mewar through these elevated plains.

The southern forests and hills constitute the Chhappan[7] and the Magra Districts of Mewar. They are full of jungles, low hills, ridges and small towns in between the valleys. They are rich in mineral and forest products. The successes of the Ranas[8] in defending their homeland against the enemy were largely due to the resources and richness of this region.

From these western mountain chains and hilly tracts arise several rivers of which the Khari is the first to attract our attention. It serves as a boundary line between Mewar and Ajmer Merwara. The river Banas is the next which flows down to the central plain and waters the major part of the low land of Mewar. It played a great part in the Mughal Period as on its bank the great battle of Haldighati was fought. It must have figured prominently in the determination of the routes to the interior of Mewar by the invaders. Then come the rivers like Gambhiri, Bedach and Ahar which happen to be the many rivers over which the greater bulk of ancient towns stand. They supply rich soil to the low country. They make the central part of Mewar fertile and well adapted to all kinds of agricultural purposes.

From the climatic standpoint, leaving aside the fact that the climate may agree with the natives, Mewar's air and water are uncongenial, specially to the foreigners. The climatic conditions grow unwholesome as we descend from the north to the south. In short, unhealthy climate and heavy water

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6 It is the hilly plain comprising of Bijolia and Mandalgarh districts. The soil of the region is so rich that abundant wheat is produced every year without artificial irrigation.

7 It is the productive part of Sarara and Jaisamand.

8 It is the hereditary title borne by the rulers of Mewar. It appears to derive its origin from the Sanskritized word 'Rajanya'. The title of 'Rana' was adopted from the time of Hamir who belonged to the Rana line of Sisodia. (For details see the *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, Vol. III, 1914, p. 46.)

on the whole had, however, one redeeming feature. It proved to be an important factor, weighing in favour of the local inhabitants and fighters, in course of their numerous conflicts with the Mughals.

These geographical conditions exercised the most potent influence. The situation of the mountain chain in the west, east and the south made the country inaccessible from three sides. The only normal point of contact with the outside world was along the north-east through which Mewar naturally came within the pale of imperial foreign policy. Similarly the courses and duration of the Mewar-Mughal contest were greatly determined by the physical features as stated above. The geographical conditions determined the routes to the imperial marches and the retaliations of the Rajputs. Many a time it so happened that due to the position of certain hills, forests and passes the Mughals were seriously hampered in their progress. Physical difficulties obliged the Mughals to establish outposts to keep the line of communication open and safe for food supply and the supplies of materials of war.

These geographical features proved a great help rather than hinderance to the native fighters. As they were sure of nature's protection they adopted simple plans of operations. In their mountainous fastness they had developed a special kind of warfare. Sheer tactics were adopted to hide from or avoid open fight. Even in the event of their defeat as in the case of Haldighati, they adopted a new policy of guerilla warfare and tried to harass the enemy by cutting off his food supply. By means of night-attacks and surprises they could fight against heavy odds for a considerable period.

Apart from the natural defences Mewar had also its peculiar military resources of which extensive fortification was the first of its kind. For purposes of military defences a large number of forts were made at strategic places, as Mandalgarh, Chitor and Kumbhalgarh. These forts were spacious enough to keep a large number of people for a long time and a large stock of other materials of war. For sometime agricultural pursuits could also be carried out inside the forts. But for a longer period of time

these forts also proved suicidal to their military power. A successful siege, as it was in the case of Akbar, was likely to tire their energy and compel them to surrender or perish.

These natural and artificial defences made inevitable the physical isolation of the land and it seemed as if the world had forgotten it and it had forgotten the world. In such an isolation the mass of the people developed a spirit of Spartan simplicity, disciplined life and love for traditions and glory of their ancestors. Virtues like courage, perseverance, straightforwardness, sense of service and devotion to their clan and little patch of land, became a second nature with them.

Equally patent were the virtues of a Rajputani who showed wonderful courage and dogged determination in times of peril. The true mark of honour and chastity of these great women is discernible in the frightful *Jauhars* when they embraced death with courage and hope, when the relentless invaders were encircling their homes and when all opportunities of deliverance were lost.

Equally important in the field of military resources was the influence of the aboriginal race of Bhils[9] who formed the greater

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9 'Bhilla' is the Sanskritized form. The word Bhil is by some derived from the Dravidian word for a bow, which is the characteristic weapon of the tribe, and by others from the root of the Sanskrit verb meaning "to pierce, shoot or kill", in consequence of their proficiency as archers. Another version is that the first Bhil was created by Mahadeo, breathing life into a doll of clay. The *Bhagwat Puran* says that the tribe is descended from a mythical Raja called Vena. In the *Adi Parva* of the *Mahabharata*, mention is made of a Nishadha or Bhil, Eklavya, who had acquired great mastery over the bow. However, in Sanskrit literature the term 'Bhilla' seems to occur for the first time about 600 A.D. Tod calls them Vanputras or 'children of the forest'. The tribe is sub-divided into a large number of clans. They have always been independent, freedom-loving, fond of fighting, shy, excitable and restless ; to these may be added truthfulness, hospitality, obedience to recognized authority and confidence in and respect for the *Sarkar*. The principal failing of the tribe is an inordinate thirst for liquor. They live in 'Pals'. The apparel of a

bulk of the population of the southern part of Mewar and who formed the real infantry of the country. They were and are still living in a state of savage independence. They never allow an enemy to trespass their country without inflicting serious injuries on him. A war-cry from a Bhil lad would cause hundreds of Bhils to assemble and dash forward against the enemy. Their main fighting instruments consist of a small sword or bows and arrows. They were so morally and physically well qualified for war, and especially for war in so wild and rugged a country as their own, that the chiefs of Mewar were never short of man-power.

Mewar in mediaeval times as we would see had an active co-operation of the people of all grades, classes and creeds. They all strove to share in safeguarding the country's interest and actively cooperated with their rulers in facing the Muslim invasions. Their bodily vigour, hardihood, patience and courage were valuable military assets. Practically, therefore, the whole race was a military race—ever ready to defend the cause of their country.

Such were the physical and human resources of Mewar on the eve of the momentous history which is told in the chapters following.

Bhil is a dirty rag round his head and a loincloth of limited length. They form more than $11\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the entire population of Mewar. Their real home is in the south and south-west of this country. (For greater details see *Rajputana Gazetteer*—Mewar Residency, 1908; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. X, 1924 and *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLIV, Pt. I, 1875, pp. 347-388.

reputation of his predecessors in the 9th century* by making a common cause with the rulers of Gujarat in checking the Arab expansion beyond Multan and Sindh.[3] Hammir (1326-1364 A.D.) redeemed his country from foreign control and left a name that is still honoured as that of a most gallant prince who bequeathed an established dominion to his son.[4] Kshetra Singh who succeeded about the year 1364 A.D. worthily upheld his station by capturing and annexing Ajmer, Jahazpur, Mandalgarh and Chhappan and by obtaining a victory over Ami Shah, alias Dilawar Khan Ghori of Malwa.[5] In 1382 A.D. Lakha ascended the throne and maintained the

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* Khaman II might have fought against the generals of Almamu (813-833 A.D.) who were continuing their invasions on Sindh. Khaman II ruled Mewar from 812 to 836 A.D.

3 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 294. MS. Rao Ratan Singh's *Vachanika*, f. 100 (b), refers to his victory over the general of Sindh :

'पुमाण रावल बापा तणै सीध राव भड भेडीया'

MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 5 (b), also refers to his victory against the Arabs.

4 *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*—Bombay branch, Vol. XXXIII; p. 50 :

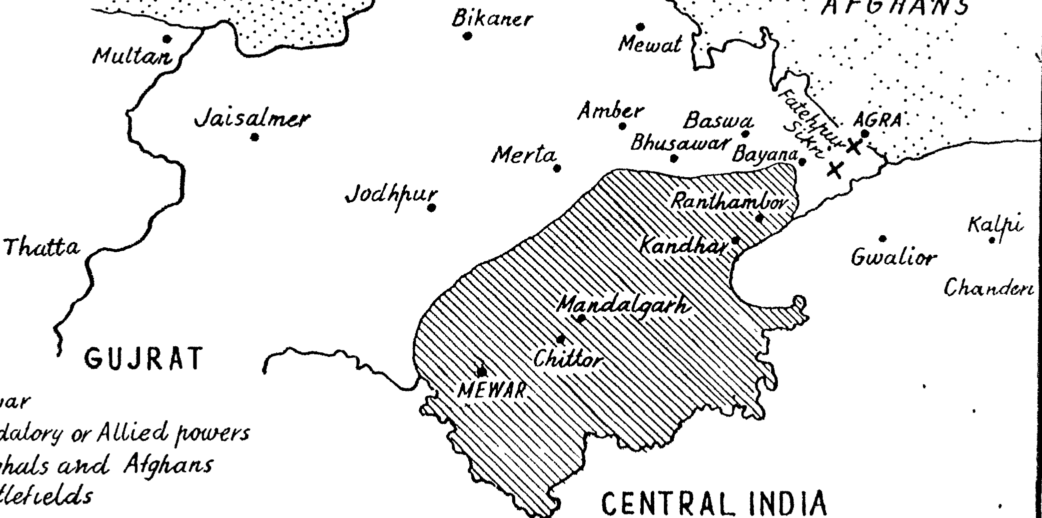
'तौरूष्कामित मुण्ड मण्डलमिथ : संघट्ट वाचालिता'

5 (a) *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, v. 198 ; *Eklingmahatmya Raj Varanan*, v. 103 ; (b) *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, v. 119; (c) *Shringi Rishi Inscription*, v. 7.

(a) हाडा वटी देशपतीन् स जित्वा तन्मंडलं चात्मवशी चकार ।
तदत्रचित्रं खलु यत्करातं तदेव तेषामिह यो बभंज ।

(b) दंडा खंडित चंड मंडल कर प्राचीर माचूर्ण यत्
तन्मध्योद्धत धीर योधनिधनं निम्र्माय निम्र्मायिधी : ।
हाडामंडल मु ंड खंडन धृत स्फूर्ज्जत्क बंधोद्धु र
कृस्वा संगर मात्म साद्व सुमतीं श्री खेतसिंहो व्यधात् ॥३१॥

(c) ढिल्ली चारु पुरे श्वरेण बलिना स्पृष्टोपि नो पाणिना
राज्ञा श्रीमददावदीति विलसन्नाम्ना गज स्वामिना ॥
सोपि क्षेत्र महीभुजा निजभुज प्रौढ प्रतापाद हो
भग्नो विश्रुत मंडलाकृति गढो जित्वा समस्तान रीन् ॥ ७ ॥


MEWAR IN 1527 A.D.
MUGHALS
MUGHALS
AFGHANS
Multan
Bikaner
Mewat
Jaisalmer
Amber
Baswa
Bhusawar
Bayana
Fatehpur Sikri
AGRA
Merta
Jodhpur
Ranthambor
Kandhar
Thatta
Gwalior
Kalpi
Chanderi
Mandalgarh
Chittor
MEWAR
GUJRAT
CENTRAL INDIA
Mewar
Feudalory or Allied powers
Mughals and Afghans
X Battlefields

traditional hostility to Muslim arms, and patronage of arts and prosecution of works of public utility.[6] Mokal the next successor distinguished himself by winning a victory over Firoz Khan of Nagore about 1428 A.D.[7] The glory of Mewar reached its pinnacle when the leadership of Guhilots was assigned to Kumbha who succeeded to the throne in 1433 A.D. He earned fame by his victories over the enemies of his race, by building a line of gigantic forts to strengthen the defences of Mewar and by keeping a political and military balance between the provincial kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat.[8]

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6 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 415 ; (a) *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, v. 98 ; (b) *Eklinga Inscription*, vv. 39-40.

(a) नीति प्रीति भुजार्जितानि बहुशो रत्नानि यत्नादयं
दायं दायममायया व्यतनुत ध्वस्तांतरायां गयां ।
तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिना न्यत्रापि युक्तं धनं
प्रौढ ग्रावनिबद्ध तीर्थ सरसी जाग्रद्य शोभोरुह : ॥३८॥
'संग्रामे लुंटितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते'

(b) लक्षं सुवर्णानि ददौ द्विजेभ्यो लक्षस्तुलादान विधानदक्षः
रातत् प्रमाणं विधिरित्य तोसा वजेन सायो (यु) ज्य सुखं सिषेवे ॥४०॥

7 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 417 ; (a) *Shringi Rishi Inscription*, v. 14 ; (b) *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, vv. 44, 120.

(a) यस्याग्रे समभूत्पलायन परः पेरोज खानः स्वयम् स्वयम्...॥१४॥

(b) कोणे कूणित कर्णधार विभवः श्रीमोकलो भूप्पवः
प्रोढिनाव मुपेयुपो जलधरः पीरोज पृथ्वीभुजः...॥४४॥

8 (a) *Kirtistambh Inscription*, V. S. 1517.
(b) *Kumbhalgarh Inscription*, vv. 184, 269-270.

(a) 'अदंडयद्यो यवनानन्तान् विडंबयन्गुर्जर भूमि भर्तुः ॥२०॥
'असौ शिरो मंडन चंद्रतारं विचित्रकूटं किल चित्रकूटं.. .॥२६॥

(b) श्री विक्रमात्पंचदशाधिकेस्मिन्
वर्षे शते पंचदशे व्यतीते ।
चैत्रासिते नंगतिथौ व्यधायि
श्री कुंभमेरुर्वसुधाश्रिपेन ॥१८४॥
महोमदो युक्ततरो न चैषः
स्वस्वामिघातेन धनार्जन त्वात् ।
इतीव सारंगपुं विलोड्य
महंमदं त्याजितवान् महंमदं ॥२६६॥



Rana Sanga

security and finances[10] of the state.

Happily these family feuds and internal disturbances were in no way perilous to the external prestige of Mewar on account of the absence of any paramount power or formidable enemy in the neighbourhood who could effectively interfere and turn the internal chaos of the country to his advantage. The Lodi Kingdom presided over by Sultan Sikandar was not powerful enough to interfere in the affairs of Rajasthan. The provincial kingdoms which had been once part and parcel of the Sultanate of Delhi were at this period claiming equality with it and this had resulted in a prolonged struggle among them. The kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat were particularly active and their rulers like Mahmud II, and Muzaffar Shah II were casting their eyes on Delhi.[11]

At this juncture, however, in the year 1508 A.D.[12] the destiny of Mewar was entrusted to Sangram Singh I, better known as Sanga[13] in the annals of Mewar. By virtue of his position and breeding he was not merely content to uphold the traditional glory and glamour of his ancestors but to enhance the prestige of his race by rallying under the crimson standard

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Mal with a loss of an eye. As a consequence of these quarrels Sanga exiled himself for fear of his life, Prithviraj was banished by his father and Jaimal was slain.

10 I have come across a large number of forged copper-plates of Rana Raimal's time in the Records branch of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur. These plates show mis-management of the administration and finances of Mewar.

11 *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol.III, pp. 243-245 and 252.

12 Ojha in his *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 347 rejects V.S. 1565 (1508 A.D.) as the date of his accession on the ground that Muhanot Nensi gives V.S. 1566 (1509 A.D.) But a copper-plate No. 45 that I have discovered recently in the Records branch of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, and which was granted by Rana Sanga to a Brahmin named Purba on 4th of the bright-half of Ashad, V.S. 1565 (2nd July, 1508) clearly proves that Sanga was the ruler of Mewar in that year. Hence the year of his accession must have been V.S. 1565 (1508 A.D.).

13 Sanga is the *dingal* form of Sangram which in Sanskrit means battle.

of the Sisodia Rajas and Rais of great eminence. Before describing his early power it is worthwhile to say a word or two concerning the personality and the previous history of the man who was destined to be the acknowledged leader of Hindu India of the first half of the 16th century.

In person he was above middle height, but of great muscular strength. Princely lustre was not wanting in spite of eighty scars on his body. His head was small, symmetrically shaped, combining the alertness and compactness characteristic of the soldier, with the capacious brow furrowed prematurely with the horizontal lines of thoughts denoting the statesman and the sage. He had lost one eye and one arm in his warlike actions.[14] At a tender age he had taken part in a duel against his brothers and successfully escaped the sword of Prithviraj. Thereafter like an adventurer he roamed in disguise through Godwar and Ajmer Districts and found shelter under the roof of a Parmar Chief in an honourable manner at Srinagar near Ajmer. Throughout this period (1504-1508 A.D.)[15] he remained in concealment and led a life of adversity.

Thus the brotherly broil and his early vicissitudes of life proved blessings in disguise by casting his character in a mould of bravery and heroism. He utilised the period of exile in silently observing men around him and pondering over plans of

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14 The description of the Rana's person is based on a portrait in possession of the *Jotdan,* the private picture gallery of the Rana. It may not be contemporary ; nevertheless it reflects the popular opinion of Sanga's features and personality.

15 The period of his concealment has been deduced from two inscriptions of the temple of Rupnarain of V.S. 1561 (1504 A.D.) which bear the fact that Rathor Bida and Rathor Raipal died fighting there with their Rajputs for saving Sanga's life. This is the last event in the history of the conflict between Sanga and his brother. We, therefore, safely assume that hereafter Sanga left Mewar and led a life of adversity. As he was called back a little before the death of his father which occurred in 1508 A.D. (vide *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 343), his life of concealment must have ended in that year, i.e., 1508 A.D.

action which go to make the history of his country noble and glorious. He, after his accession, fulfilled the promise of his early youth, and took steps to strengthen Mewar's financial[16] and military resources[17] in order to embark on a career of conquest. His ambition was stirred up by the traditional heroism of his race.

He opened his career with fair prospects of success. From 1514 to 1520 A.D. he routed the forces of Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah II, from place to place[18] and is said to have gained eighteen pitched battles against the Sultans of Delhi and Malwa. In one of these he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person at Ghatoli, in which the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood royal to grace the triumph of Chitor.[19] In 1519 A. D. he defeated and

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16 He increased his financial resources by means of collecting ransom, taxes and custom duty from many Rajas who were under his political sphere of influence. A copper-plate grant No. 26/144 (2), Jagir-file, Samvat 93 of V.S. 1582 (1525 A.D.) which I have recently discovered in the Records branch of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur shows that he had deputed officers for the purpose of conducting collection work. The plate also shows that the collector who successfully managed to send the sum to his treasury was rewarded by the grant of a village named Bateri (in Kumbhalgarh district) by the Rana.

17 His help to Raimal (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, pp. 354-355) in obtaining the throne of Idar was directed towards making his position strong against Gujarat and Malwa.

18 *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, (S.B.L.), p. 140 ; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, (S.B.L.), pp. 101-103 ; MS. *Amar Kavya Vanshavali*, f. 30 (a) :

"मुद्दफ्फरं गुर्ज्जरेशं जित्त्वा तद् शिविरं दहत्
व (बं) गादमदावाद विजयं व्यतनोद्दली"

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, p. 68 ; Forbes : *Rasmala*, pp. 382-385 ; Sarda : *Maharana Sanga*, pp. 82-83 ; Bayley : *History of Gujarat*, pp. 269-270.

19 *Baburnama* (Beveridge), Vol. II, pp. 593 and 561; Tod: *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 349 ; K. Shyamal Das : *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, p. 954 ; Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 351 ; MS. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana of Ahmed*

of the Sisodia Rajas and Rais of great eminence. Before describing his early power it is worthwhile to say a word or two concerning the personality and the previous history of the man who was destined to be the acknowledged leader of Hindu India of the first half of the 16th century.

In person he was above middle height, but of great muscular strength. Princely lustre was not wanting in spite of eighty scars on his body. His head was small, symmetrically shaped, combining the alertness and compactness characteristic of the soldier, with the capacious brow furrowed prematurely with the horizontal lines of thoughts denoting the statesman and the sage. He had lost one eye and one arm in his warlike actions.[14] At a tender age he had taken part in a duel against his brothers and successfully escaped the sword of Prithviraj. Thereafter like an adventurer he roamed in disguise through Godwar and Ajmer Districts and found shelter under the roof of a Parmar Chief in an honourable manner at Srinagar near Ajmer. Throughout this period (1504-1508 A.D.)[15] he remained in concealment and led a life of adversity.

Thus the brotherly broil and his early vicissitudes of life proved blessings in disguise by casting his character in a mould of bravery and heroism. He utilised the period of exile in silently observing men around him and pondering over plans of

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14 The description of the Rana's person is based on a portrait in possession of the *Jotdan*, the private picture gallery of the Rana. It may not be contemporary ; nevertheless it reflects the popular opinion of Sanga's features and personality.

15 The period of his concealment has been deduced from two inscriptions of the temple of Rupnarain of V.S. 1561 (1504 A.D.) which bear the fact that Rathor Bida and Rathor Raipal died fighting there with their Rajputs for saving Sanga's life. This is the last event in the history of the conflict between Sanga and his brother. We, therefore, safely assume that hereafter Sanga left Mewar and led a life of adversity. As he was called back a little before the death of his father which occurred in 1508 A.D. (vide *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 343), his life of concealment must have ended in that year, i.e., 1508 A.D.

action which go to make the history of his country noble and glorious. He, after his accession, fulfilled the promise of his early youth, and took steps to strengthen Mewar's financial[16] and military resources[17] in order to embark on a career of conquest. His ambition was stirred up by the traditional heroism of his race.

He opened his career with fair prospects of success. From 1514 to 1520 A.D. he routed the forces of Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah II, from place to place[18] and is said to have gained eighteen pitched battles against the Sultans of Delhi and Malwa. In one of these he was opposed by Ibrahim Lodi in person at Ghatoli, in which the imperial forces were defeated with great slaughter, leaving a prisoner of the blood royal to grace the triumph of Chitor.[19] In 1519 A. D. he defeated and

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[16] He increased his financial resources by means of collecting ransom, taxes and custom duty from many Rajas who were under his political sphere of influence. A copper-plate grant No. 26/144 (2), Jagir-file, Samvat 93 of V.S. 1582 (1525 A.D.) which I have recently discovered in the Records branch of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur shows that he had deputed officers for the purpose of conducting collection work. The plate also shows that the collector who successfully managed to send the sum to his treasury was rewarded by the grant of a village named Bateri (in Kumbhalgarh district) by the Rana.

[17] His help to Raimal (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, pp. 354-355) in obtaining the throne of Idar was directed towards making his position strong against Gujarat and Malwa.

[18] *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, (S.B.L.), p. 140 ; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, (S.B.L.), pp. 101-103 ; MS. *Amar Kavya Vanshavali*, f. 30 (a) :

"मुद्दफ्फरं गुर्ज्जरेशं जित्वा तद् शिविरं दहत्
व (बं) गादमदावाद विजयं व्यतनोद्दली"

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, p. 68 ; Forbes : *Rasmala*, pp. 382-385 ; Sarda : *Maharana Sanga*, pp. 82-83 ; Bayley : *History of Gujarat*, pp. 269-270.

[19] *Baburnama* (Beveridge), Vol. II, pp. 593 and 561; Tod: *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 349 ; K. Shyamal Das : *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, p. 954 ; Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 351 ; MS. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana of Ahmed*

captured the Sultan of Mandu,[20] Mahmud II and brought him to

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Yadgar, (S.B.L.), ff. 34 (a), 36 (d) ; *Waqiat-i-Daudi*, Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 468 record Ibrahim's victory over the Rana.

Mr. A. C. Banerji in his *Rajput Studies*, p. 85 doubts Rana's victory and states : "In the absence of any other detail, it is impossible to verify the truth of this statement. Muslim writers do not refer to Ibrahim Lodi's coming in person or to the capture of any prisoner of the blood royal by Rana Sanga."

Similarly, Dr. Ishwari Prasad in his *Mediaeval India*, p. 454, in a footnote, states that "None of our authorities except Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana, the Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi and the Tarikh-i-Daudi mention this expedition. Nizamuddin, Badaoni and Firishta are silent on the subject. We look in vain for a corroboration of this account in the Rajput chronicles. That there were frequent wars between Delhi and Mewar is established by Rajput evidence. But it is very difficult to form a definite opinion about the result of these wars for neither the Rajput nor the Muslim chroniclers would record a defeat of that party."

The conclusion of the above learned historians is based on negative reasoning. Babur's version and Abul Fazl's records as stated above as well as the Rajput authorities as given below definitely mention Ibrahim's defeat and are not wholly unreliable.

Rajput sources describe the Rana's victory as follows :

MS. *Vanshavali*, ff. 63 (b), 64 (a) (No. 878) :

'युद्ध जीत्या बाकरोल पातसाह ल्याया था कटक
क्षेत्र घाटोली बीजीवार पातसाह थको'

MS. *Surya Vanshavali*, f. 49 (a) and (b) (No. 827) :

'जुध जीत्या बाकरोल पातिसाह ल्याया था कटक
षेत घाटोली बीजीवार पातसाह थको रह्यो सुषेत्त'

MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 29 (b) :

'दिल्लीश्वरादि भूपेभ्यो गृहीत्त्वा पृथिवीं बलात्'

Muhanot Nensi, p. 46 also corroborates Ibrahim's defeat :

'आखे आगरे जगट की जवनपुर, समर सांगे सपडाणो ।
दिलडी तकी धरा धरा धक धूणे, रोस चईणो राणो ।।
नरवर गोपाल निजलते समये सिरतर सवाई ।
सुण सुरताण न कीधो सांगे मेछतणा धर माही ।।
मोकल हर सभियो योगरे थट लोह त्तणे रस लागो ।
पूरब देश भगण पडन्ता भोतण पडवो भागो ।।'

20 Mandu or Mandugarh is a hill fortress of about 25 miles

his own capital and with Rajput magnanimity dressed his wounds, attended him in person and after his recovery sent him back to Mandu, furnished with an escort of one thousand horse.[21]

in circumference, 2079 feet high from the sea-level, and everywhere protected by battlements. It had been the capital of Malwa from 1405 to 1531 A.D. (*Archaeological Report of the Year 1912-13*, pp. 148-151 ; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, 1903, pp. 339-390.)

21 A contemporary evidence of a copper-plate No. 26/144, Misal Jagir, Samvat 93, of the 12th of the dark-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1576, 11th April, 1519 A.D., which I have discovered recently at Records branch of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, fully establishes the point that the Sultan was surrounded by 300 Rajputs horse led by one Chundawat and captured. The Rana in order to commemorate this victorious event gave 100 *bighas* of land to Trivedi Hardas, in the presence of Rawat Giriraj, Hema Kabra and one Varaj Virya who were all present in battlefield.

The following Muslim authorities also record Rana's victory over Mahmud II :

MS. *Baburnama*, f. 205 (b) ; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, (Per. Text) (S.B L.), Vol. I, pp. 166, 167 ; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (S.B.L.), Vol. I, p. 105. Later writers exaggerated the Rana's triumph by saying that the Sultan was defeated and captured several times.

MS. *Nensi's Khyat*, f. 6 (a) :

'मांडव रो पातसाहे सांगे दोय बार पकड ने बीडीयो'

Jagannath Raya Inscription :

'सोयं सांग मही पतिः स्मरतनुः श्री मांडवाख्यालसत्
दुर्गेशं यवनेश्वर ब (ध्वा) त्यजत्सत्कृपः'

MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, f. 32 (a) :

'वारत्रयं—महता बलेन मांडव्य दुर्गाधिपति निरोध्य
मुमोचितं लुटित सर्वं वित्तस्तत्साम्यतां याति धरातलेकः'

MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 30 (a) :

'संस्थाप्य पद्मिनी गेहे कारायां चित्रकूटके'

MS. *Surya Vanshavali*, f. 49 (b) ; MS. *Tawarikh Vanshavali*, ff. 9 (b), 10 (a).

Mr. Sarda in his able monograph on *Sanga*, p. 74 rightly remarks concerning the magnanimity shown by the Rana :

'Judged by its political results, the act has proved injurious to the national cause of the Rajputs.'

Thus by defeating several times the rulers of Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat[22] he acquired the universal recognition of 'Kullus'[23] of the Rajput confederacy and exemplified in his person the spirit of Hindu chivalry and leadership.

Although Rana Sanga had established his fame as one of the greatest warriors of his times and had proved his worth as a ruler and statesman, he had now to meet the real adversary of his life in Babur who was in every way more than a match for him. Sanga now a veritable leader of Hindu India and the greatest living Rajput chief and leader who had succeeded in establishing sovereignty of Mewar over Rajasthan and suc-

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22 MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 19 (a) :

'दली अहमदा बाद सु फोज ३ आई जासु
जुध जीत्या हार कही आई नहीं'

MS. *Gita Sangrah*, p. 99 :

"जण महैमद बंदियो सुजड से है सेन सांगा रै
मुदाफर गल माल आव ऊमराव उतारै
गुडियो ही गंजीया नग लीधत चैडे
गोपाचल इम तुहीज छुटै ते छोडै"

Bhursingh : *Maharana Yash Prakash*, pp. 62-65 :

"सझवो सेल वाहिवो असमर धू पटवो अर नवर धरा
साहा पकड़ छोडवो सांगा हँसा खेल हमीर हरा
इब्राहीम पूरब दिसा न ऊलटै पछम मुदाफर न दै पयाण
दपणी महमाद साह न दौडे सांगा दामण बहु सुरताण"

MS. *Rajratnakar*, Vol. II, f. 32 (a) :

"बध्वा येन मुहुमुहुः किल सुरत्राणो विमुक्तो रणे
राहय्यान्वय भूषणेन महता संग्राम सिंहेन वै"

23 Col. Tod in his *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 348 has used the word 'Kullus' or 'Kalas' in the sense of ball or urn which crowns the pinnacle. The word 'Kullus' has not rightly been understood by Col. Tod for urn. The metaphor used by the bard as 'Kullus' or 'Kalas' is the *dingal* form of 'Kulak', that is, 'the high-born', and not ball or urn as misunderstood by Col. Tod. In *dingal* 'Kullus' is the corrupted form of 'Kulak'. In *Raj Prashasti*, canto IV, verse 21 for Pratap 'Kulakam' has been used. It is a case in instance :

'कुलकं प्रताप सिंहाय'

cessfully established his supremacy over Malwa and Gujarat, entertained the ambition of an arbiter in the politics of Hindustan. Besides he summed up in his life the ambition of Rajput chivalry and opposition to the foreign Muslim domination in the land. All Rajput chiefs and other indigenous princes looked to him for leading an opposition against the tottering Sultanate of Delhi, to make short-work of it and to re-establish Hindu rule over Delhi. Politically, ideologically and emotionally, Sanga was marked out for leading an opposition against Babur.

Leaving Persia and Turkey out of consideration Babur was the most notable prince in Asia, who like Sanga had passed his early life in adversity and suffered many reverses against his own kinsmen, Uzbegs, Turks and even Persians. Nevertheless without being daunted by these reverses he had eventually triumphed against his enemies and established himself at Kabul. Foiled in his designs against Farghana and Samarkand he was now meditating the conquest of Hindustan. In war, diplomacy and lofty idealism he was a leader par excellence and, therefore, the greatest adversary that Sanga had to meet in diplomacy and on the field of battle.

The conquest of north-western India and the defeat of Ibrahim at Panipat made Babur only nominally the master of central Hindustan. Before his mind's eye there were two possible rivals, the Rajputs and the Afghans. He was now faced with a dilemma as to which of the two strongly entrenched powers should be dealt with first. He, therefore, called upon a council of war at Agra[24] to help him to make up his mind on the issue and resolve the dilemma for him. The council advised him to postpone the contest with Sanga and to meet the Afghan danger first which seemed to be more threatening than

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24 MS. *Baburnama*, (S. B. L.), f. 224 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 530-531 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 30 (6).

"आगरा नगर (रे) स्थायी बब्बरो नगरान्वित:
कृत्वा सार्द्ध (द्धं) प्रधानेन विचारं चिंतयाकुल."

the aggression of the Rajputs. The decision had, however, to be given up soon after as Babur found the fast rising power of Sanga really more menacing than that of the Afghans. So he began to make preparations at Agra for an onslaught against the Rana by enlisting troops of various kinds.

But to provoke war without adequate reason is against the canons of politics and Babur was fully aware of it. He, therefore, brought an allegation of breach of faith on the part of Sanga who was alleged to have deceived him by not going to his help when he was engaged against Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat. He denounces this act of Sanga in his own memoirs by stating, "While we were still in Kabul, Rana Sanga had sent an envoy to testify to his good wishes and to propose this plan : 'If the honoured Padshah will come to near Dehli from that side, I from this will move on Agra.' But I beat Ibrahim, I took Dehli and Agra, and up to now that Pagan has given no sign soever of moving."[25]

On the contrary the Rajput version, though not contemporary but nevertheless quite authentic based as it is on the daily bulletin of Rana's life taken down at the end of every day, says that it was not Sanga who sent an envoy to Kabul to propose an alliance with Babur against their common foe, Ibrahim of Delhi, but the king of Kabul who was anxious to have an ally of undoubted ability and strength during the course of his proposed expedition in an unknown country. The family priest of Mewar's ruling family whose ancestors were commissioned to keep daily records of Rana's activities writes : "Babur, the king of Kabul, in order to realise his ambition of depriving Ibrahim Lodi of his throne and establish his own sovereignty over Delhi, thought out a plan, with an object of finding an ally from the old Rajas of the country which was an unknown land to him to make an alliance with Rana Sanga who was not on good terms with the Sultan. With this end in view he sent an envoy to the Rana at Chitor with a letter requesting him to co-operate with him as he (Babur) was desi-

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[25] MS. *Baburnama*, (S. B. L.), f. 223 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 529.

rous of fighting against Ibrahim, the common enemy of both of them. He had also requested a reply setting forth the terms of agreement with him. In this letter Babur also mentioned that from that side he would march on Delhi, while the Rana should proceed against the city of Agra, so that being attacked from both the sides Ibrahim would either surrender or fly away. Hence on the advice of Silahadi the Rana complied and sent a letter to Kabul with Babur's envoy. This made Babur start for Hindustan."[26]

That the above view is not improbable will be clear from the fact that Babur was to embark on an expedition against the ruler of Delhi whose resources in men and money were far superior to those of his own and, therefore, the issue of the proposed contest was in doubt. Under these circumstances it was in Babur's interest to seek an alliance with the greatest and most powerful enemy in India. In the second place Sanga did not at this time stand in need of an alliance with Babur who had yet to establish his reputation in India. Thirdly, the view that Sanga sent an envoy to Kabul goes against the Rajput and, in fact, Hindu habit of sitting on the fence and waiting to see as to which side won before deciding a line of action. Fourthly, unlike his usual practice Babur here gives no details of his alliance though he has elsewhere given the details of his agreements with Alam Khan Lodi and Dolat Khan Lodi.[27] Fifthly,

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[26] MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, ff. 135 (a), 136 (a). The text runs as follows :

"जब बादशाह बाबर काबुल में राज्य करता था उसने विचारा कि भारतवर्ष का राज्य लोदी बादशाह करते हैं उनको नष्ट करके दिल्ली में अपना राज्य स्थापन करो परन्तु अज्ञात देश में जाना वहाँ के किसी प्राचीन राज्य की मित्रता से अच्छा है जब उसने दिल्लीस इब्राहीम लोदी और मेदपाटेश्वर की वैमनस्यता श्रवण करी तब अपना एक अमात्य चित्रकूटाचल को प्रेषण किया......उस पत्र में बाबर ने यह लिखा था कि इस ओर से तो मैं आकर दिल्ली में अपना अधिकार करूँगा अरु उस ओर से आप आन कर आगरे में अपना राज्य स्थापन करें।"

[27] Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. I, pp. 443-444, and Vol. II, pp. 455-458.

it will be too much to think that Babur always stated the whole truth. Close students of *Baburnama* are aware how sometimes he deliberately gave wrong facts. For example, he stated more than once in positive terms that he had 12,000 men[28] all told in his fight against Ibrahim Lodi. Modern research,[29] however, has shown that he had a much larger number at the field of Panipat. And finally, it has to be noted that no other contemporary writer, Hindu or Muslim, makes mention of Sanga's sending an ambassador to Kabul. It is a pity that all modern writers[30] have uncritically accepted Babur's version.

Surprisingly enough the main facts of Rajput version of the above agreement are identical with those of Babur's version, which is an additional reason for crediting with the authenticity of the former. Both maintained that it was decided that while Babur advanced against Ibrahim from the north-west, Sanga would attack Agra, so as to divert the Lodi Sultan's attention and divide his forces. It is clear that Agra was to go to Sanga, but while Babur launched his offensive against the Sultan of Delhi, Sanga hesitated to fulfil his part of the engagement. The Rajput accounts though do not mince matters and state clearly that on the advice of his chiefs Sanga decided to remain neutral. Therefore, while Sanga had not invited Babur to India he surely became guilty of non-fulfilment of an agreement that he had made with the king of Kabul.

Now it may be interesting to analyse the causes that led the Rana to change his mind. Sanga who had imagined that Babur was only actuated by love of plunder and would, like his ancestor Timur, return to Kabul after helping himself with the riches of the country, noticed with surprise and disappointment that in his progress through the Punjab Babur behaved like a ruler of

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28 MS. *Baburnama*, (S. B. L.), ff. 189 (a), 204 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 480.

29 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 12 says that Babur must have about 25,000 troops.

30 Rushbrook Williams : *Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, p. 127 ; D. Rose : *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 529 ; Erskine : *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 462.

the land and that he not only occupied the Punjab but also established an administration in that province.[31] The Rana, therefore, felt that far from being a tool in his hands the ruler of Kabul was a very terrible adversary. Moreover, Sangram Singh was advised by his chiefs to abandon the alliance with Babur helping whom, they added, was like feeding a cobra with milk.[32] In view of the feudal constitution of his state it was not possible for the Rana to ignore the advice of his topmost nobles. Self-interest coupled with political expediency imposed on him a policy of neutrality. This, however, laid him open to the charge of breach of faith.

Probably Babur would not have taken serious notice of Rana Sanga's failure to fulfil his promise of creating a diversion on Ibrahim's southern frontier, if the ruler of Mewar had not unwisely given him further provocation. In fact Babur had already decided to put an end to the Afghan menace and began his preparation for the same.[33] In the meantime immediately after Ibrahim's defeat at Panipat Rana Sanga had taken steps to establish his rule over the territory in Rajputana that had owed

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31 Instead of posting his troops to keep the line of communication between Hindustan and Kabul open Babur was establishing garrisons, punishing his enemies like Daulat Khan and occupying Lahore and its dependent districts. These steps were unnecessary for a mere plunderer and showed that Babur had not come with a mind to go back after blackmailing but to establish his power.

[For further details of his practical acts see MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), ff. 201 (a), 223 (a) ; *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 454, 463 ; *Cambridge History*, Vol. IV, p. 12 ; Rushbrook Williams : *Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, p. 127.]

32 MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 136 (a).

"भुजंगम को दुग्ध पान कराते हैं"

33 Humayun and other trusted generals were deputed to subdue the eastern Afghan block after his victory of Panipat and occupation of Agra. [Vide MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), ff. 201 (b), 203 (a), 206 (a), 223 (b), 224 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 538-544.]

allegiance to the Sultan of Delhi.[34] He occupied Kandar[35] and drove away Hasan from that powerful fortress[36] and established his rule over two hundred places.[37] This must have brought about an overthrow of many Muslim families settled in the region. Babur interpreted it as an insult to Islam.[38] Moreover, Mahmud Lodi who had escaped unhurt from the field of Panipat and was saluted as Sultan of Hindustan by the fleeing Afghans was welcomed by Rana Sanga at Chitor and promised assistance against Babur. An alliance[39] was now made between the Rana and Mahmud Lodi in order to drive out Babur who was a foreigner and had usurped the sovereignty of Hindustan that had belonged to the Afghans for three generations. Babur must have looked upon these activities as unfriendly acts of the Rajput king. In order therefore to check the further expansion of the Rana's power Babur arranged to bring Bayana under his control and deputed Mahdi Khwaja to take charge of it from Nizam Khan.[40] In the meantime Hasan Khan Mewati, another notable Muslim chief and ruler of an extensive territory known as Mewat, proceeded to join Mahmud Lodi and Sanga. The Rana[41]

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34 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 223 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 529.

35 It is a fortress ten miles east of Ranthambhor in Rajasthan.

36 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 223 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 529-530.

37 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 243 (a) ; *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 127 ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 562.

38 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 243 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 562-563 ; *Tabaqat*, (Per. Text), p. 192.

39 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 243 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 562 ; MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 136 (b) ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (B.D.E.), Vol. II, p. 31.

40 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B L.) Vol. I, p. 228 (b) ; *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 128; MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 136 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 538-539 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat*, Vol. II, p. 190.

41 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 234 (a) (b) ; MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 136 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 545-547.

respected him. Babur became alarmed at the formation of an Afghan-Rajput confederacy.

The above political development was accompanied by conflicting religious and cultural ideologies working round these two indomitable personalities of that age. The Rana had looked upon himself as the champion of Hindu interest and the protector of Hindu religion and culture. He clearly saw that the slightest inaction or indifference on his part would be tantamount to betraying Hindu interests of which he was the custodian. Babur had, on the other hand, championed the cause of Islam which had for more than three hundred years dominated the country. He looked upon it his duty to maintain that supremacy. The policy was also calculated to win him with the support of Indian Muslims whose religious interests were identical with that of Babur. Babur consequently felt indignant when the expansion of Rana's territory in the direction of Agra brought about the overthrow of several Muslim families. Like a fanatical Musalman he writes in his diary, "Infidel standards dominated some 200 towns in the territories of Islam ; in them mosques and shrines fell into ruin ; from them the wives and children of the Faithful were carried away captive."[42] Thus religious hatred added to the political and economic causes brought about a complete rupture between the two indomitable rivals. Theirs was the case of two swords in a scabbard or of two lions at bay at each other.

The personal and political reason made the contest that had to follow assume a national character. Sanga ordered the drums of war to be beaten and letters of call to duty to be despatched which were duly responded to.[43] Thus equipped with and con-

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[42] MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.) f. 242 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 562.

[43] MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), ff. 235 (a), 243 (a) (b) ; *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 130 ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 562. MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, ff. 136 (b), 137 (a) gives a long list of confederated and federal powers which joined him at Bayana :

1. Raja Prithviraj of Dhundhar. 2. Mahmud, the son of Sikandar Lodi. 3. Hasan Khan Mewati. 4. Rao

scious that success alone could justify his attempt and boldness only could command success, he instantly advanced on or about the end of Jan. 1527,[44] at the head of a huge army in order to expel Babur from Hindustan.[45] When he reached Ranthambhor, Rao Manik Chandra Chauhan[46] of Chandwar,[47] now a village near Firozabad in Agra District, who had defeated Kamal Khan[48] welcomed his presence by presenting to him the royal canopy and tent which he had wrested from Babur's

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Medini Rai of Chanderi. 5. Rao Ramdas Songra of Jhalor. 6. Raja Raimal Rathore of Merta. 7. Rao Akhai Raj Devda of Sirohi. 8. Rao Nar Singh Deo. 9. Rao Brahm Deo. 10. Rao Dalip. 11. Rawat Udai Singh of Dungarpur. 12. Rao Ratan Singh of Salumber. 13. Rao Jagmal of Amer. 14. Rao Joga of Ameta. 15. Rawat Sanga Chunda of Deogarh. 16. Rawat Bagh Singh of Deolia. 17. Dodia Karan Singh of Lawa. 18. Ajja Jhala of Sadri. 19. Sajja Jhala of Gogunda etc.

44 The date of his start for Bayana as stated above has been calculated on the basis of the information sent by Mahdi Khvaja to Babur after January 6th, 1527. He was informed by Mahdi Khvaja, the governor of Bayana, that Rana's advance was certain. [Vide MS : *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 234 (a) and Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 545.] Babur also moved from Agra on the 11th February, 1527. [Vide MS : *Baburnama* (S.B.L.), f. 234 (b) and *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 547.] This means that somewhere at the end of the month of January Sanga would have started for Bayana.

45 MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 136 (b).

46 Ojha calls him a Raja of Anterved. (Vide *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 374.) His successors are the Raos of Bedla, a first class Jagir estate of the order of the 'Solas' or sixteen.

47 A village near Firozabad in Agra district where in 1193 Shahabuddin Ghori defeated Jayachandra, king of Kanauj. Chandwar is evidently a contraction of Chandrapur. (*The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* by Nandolal Dey, p. 14.)

48 Sahu-khail Lodi Afghan, son of Alam Khan. He was sent to Bayana to occupy it for Babur. At Khanua his position was in the left wing. (Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 567.)

men.[49] The next aim of his march was Bayana which had fallen into the hands of Babur's men. He laid siege to the fort in an organised manner and dividing the remaining troops in four parts, the front, the rear, the right and the left, and arranging them probably in the eastern side of the open plain.[50] He took care to post his trusted nobles of Mewar in the front and the rest on other sides.[51] This scientific and strategical device of the Rajputs put the enemies in a state of blockade.[52] The light forces despatched towards Bayana from Agra under Mohammad Sultan Mirza and other officers of experience with instruction to check and hang upon the skirts of the approaching enemy and to harass him in his movement could not achieve their purpose and had to retreat taking with them some heads and a few prisoners.[53]

The consequences of the battle were a foregone conclusion.

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49 MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 137 (b).

50 It is the same which is called 'Badalgarh Kot'. The Gambhir river flows close by it. In the eastern side of the fort there is a vast plain which most probably afforded place for arranging the Rajput army in battle array.

51 MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, ff. 139 (b), 140 (a) gives the Rajput arrangement as follows :

The right division was put in the charge of Rao Akhai Raj Devda of Jhalor, Raimal Rathor of Merta and Hasan Khan Mewati. The left was supervised by Narain Das Hadà of Bundi, Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur. Raja Silahadi Tanwar of Raisen, Mahmud, the son of Sultan Sikandar, Raja Brahm Deo, Rai Dalip, Raja Nar Singh Deo and Rao Medini Rai. The front was commanded by Rawat Ratan Singh of Salumber, Rawat Jagga of Ameta, Rawat Sanga Chundawat, Raja Ajja Jhala of Sadri and Gokul Das Parmar of Bijolia. In the rear Sanga himself remained to supervise the entire organization with the help of Rao Chandra Bhan of Kotharia, Karam Chandra Parmar with his son Rao Jagmal, Raja Sajja Jhala, Dodia Karan Singh, Rawat Bagh Singh of Deolia, Rawat Udai Singh of Dungarpur and Raja Mukand Baghela.

52 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 234 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 547 ; MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 140 (a).

53 MS. *Baburnama*, (S. B. L.), f. 234 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 546, 548.

The besieged lost heart. The only course open to them was to surrender.[54] Several officers[55] of distinction were either killed or wounded. The Rajputs achieved victory on or about the 16th of February, 1527.[56]

Though Babur and the Muslim historians have not attached much importance to the battle of Bayana, it stands out as a last great triumph in the chequered career of Rana Sanga in whose hands now lay the forts of Chitor, Ranthambhor, Kandar and Bayana, the key-points of central Hindustan. The short and sharp encounters that the Mughals had to face at the hands of the Rajputs on this occasion, in which they had been severely handled, sent a thrill of terror and discouragement in the Mughal army.[57] The Chaghatai Turks found that they had now to contend with a foe, more formidable than either the Afghans or any of the natives of India to whom they had yet been opposed.

Thus the battle of Bayana was a sad reverse for the Mughals. It was to be otherwise in the case of the battle of Khanua[58] for

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54 MS. *Baburnama*, (S. B. L.), ff. 234-235 (b) ; *Akbarnama* (Per. Text), Vol. I, pp. 132 ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 547-548.

55 Sangur Khan became a martyr. Kitta Beg suffered great pain and Abdul Aziz was badly defeated. (Vide MS. : *Baburnama*, f. 235 (a) (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 548-549.)

56 According to Col. Tod the date of victory was the 5th of Kartik, V.S. 1584 (vide *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 353). The day and the month given by Col. Tod is incorrect. Babur in his memoirs (Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 548) clearly mentions that on the February 16th, 1527 (on or about 15th of the bright-half, Phalguna, V.S. 1583) all his men including Mahdi Khvaja, the governor of Bayana were ordered to rejoin him. Hence it was about 16th February, 1527 and not 8th of Kartik, V.S. 1584 (13th Nov., 1527) that the fort was taken by the Rana.

57 MS. *Baburnama*, (S. B. L.), f. 236 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 550.

58 Khanua is a village in the Rupbas Tahsil of the District of Bharatpur (Rajasthan), situated in 27°2′ N and 77°33′ E, close to the left bank of the Banganga river, and about 13 miles south of Bharatpur city. (*I.G.R.*, p. 339)

which Babur had been making gigantic preparations since his victory at the field of Panipat. He marched out of Agra on 16th February, 1527[59] and reached Mandakur[60] where he instituted the centre of artillery and posted his baggage and camp followers.[61] But finding a better place at Fatehpur Sikri[62] he removed his camp just close to the hill.[63] The troops were arrayed on the right and left and in the centre.[64] A waggon line connected with an iron chain was made to defend the front and provide shelter to the artillery-men.[65] Where there was no possibility of keeping waggons ditch was cut for the protection of his men.[66] Wheeled tripods of wood were constructed for affording a resting place for the guns and cover for the gunners.[67] Mustafa and Ustadali were posted in charge of the artillery and

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59 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L), f. 236 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 548.

60 'It is perhaps the Mandhawar of the Ain.' (Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 182). It is a plain without adequate supply of water. It is between Agra and Sikri. (Beveridge : *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 259.) *Tabaqat*, (Per. Text), p. 191.

61 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 236 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 548.

62 It is a town in Kiraoli Tahsil; situated in 27°5′ N and 77°40′ E on a metalled road 23 miles west of Agra city.

63 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 236 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 548.

According to Abul Fazl [*Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 131] Babur sent Amir Darvesh Muhammad Sarban in advance in order that he might find a proper ground for encampment. The said Amir fixed on an eligible spot in the neighbourhood of Fatehpur lake and that was made the pleasant ground of encampment. [*Tabaqat*, (Per. Text), p. 191.]

64 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 241 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 548.

65 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 241 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 550.

66 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 236 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 558.

67 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 236 (b); Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 557 ; Rushbrook Williams: *Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, pp. 146-147.

other men of note were assigned their position either on the left or the right or in the centre.[68] Babur took his position in the centre. For the flank movement (Tulghma) and the retainers' party most trusted Amirs were chosen.[69]

In the meantime the Rajputs, whose energy, chivalry and fondness for battle and bloodshed doubled by their recent success, marched onwards, animated by a strong national spirit, led by a hero who was ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the enemy's camp. From Bayana, instead of going north-east reaching the enemy directly, he marched towards north-west and halted at Bhusawar.[70] He did so probably, with a view to cut the enemy's line of supply from Delhi and Kabul. Though, at any other time this would be sound strategy, it proved disastrous in this particular instance. For had he marched straight, it would have taken him hardly a day and he would have pressed on and surprised the enemy, still only half prepared to face him. As it happened he lost valuable time, about a month, in idle speculation, far away from the camp of the enemy, and allowed Babur to complete his preparations. His lethargic move and unnecessary delay sealed the fate of the Rajputs. His success at Bayana had created in him over-confidence which made him minimize difficulties he had to overcome. "If the Maharana had possessed the restless energy of his elder brother, the ever memorable, the 'winged' Prithviraj, or if he did possess it, had shown it in a speedy attack on the entrenched camps of Babur, or if, with Rana Hamir's energy, he had fallen

68 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), ff. 244 (b), 245 (a)(b); Beveridge: *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 565-567.

69 MS. *Baburnama* (S.B.L.), f. 246 (a); Beveridge: *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 568.

70 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 236 (b); Beveridge: *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 548; Beveridge: *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 260, wrongly write it Bisawar. Bhusawar is a town in 'Was' Tahsil of Bharatpur, situated in 27°2′N and 77°3′E close to the Jaipur border and about 30 miles west-by-south-west of Bharatpur City. It is supposed to have been founded by, and named after Bhasawar, Khan, an officer of Mhd. of Ghore. (*I.G.R.*, p. 337)

on the dejected, panic-stricken followers of the brave adventurer from Samarkand, the Turk (Mughal) dynasty would probably never have occupied the throne of Delhi, and the history of India would have run a different course from what it has done."[71]

Yet amidst all mistakes and miscalculations there was a ray of hope for Sanga. The news of defeat at Bayana brought by the deserters and the stories of ardour and bravery of the Rajputs repeated from tongue to tongue damped the spirit of the Mughal army.[72] Despair was writ large on all faces. Moreover, at such a critical moment from among the reinforcements[73] from Kabul, Muhammad Sharif, an astrologer, kept insisting to all he met, "Mars is in the west in these days ; who comes into the fight from this (east) side will be defeated."[74]

But Babur was not the man to falter under adverse circumstances. He had sustained adversity with self-possession and prosperity with moderation. He took the celebrated step of rejuvenating energy in his men by his renouncing wine,[75] the dearest luxury of his life. He also infused courage in their dejected hearts by eloquence.[76] So many vigorous assertions of

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71 Sarda : *Maharana Sanga*, p. 140.

72 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 240 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, p. 556.

73 The number of the reinforcements given by Babur in his memoirs (MS. *Baburnama*, f. 237 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 551) is 500, while Gulbadan in *Humayunnama*, (Beveridge, p. 100) gives 30 to 40. She further tells us of the clever contrivance of Babur, who, when he heard that they were 30 or 40 only, sent 1,000 of his own troops all armed and equipped at midnight so that when they arrived they might inspire confidence in his people.

74 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 237 (a) ; Beveridge : *Baburnama*, Vol. II, p. 551 ; Beveridge : *Humayunnama* (Gulbadan), p. 98. "It would be best for the Emperor not to fight, for the constellation 'Sahkiz Yildoz' (eight stars) is opposite."

75 MS. *Baburnama*, (S B.L.), ff. 237 (a), 238 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 551-553 ; Beveridge : *Humayunnama*, p. 99.

76 MS. *Baburnama*, (S B.L.), f. 240 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 556-557 ; Beveridge : *Humayunnama*, p. 99.

attempted performances of duty, such fervent hopes expressed through melo-dramatic eloquence, could not but affect the sensibility of the audience, already excited by the impressive character of the whole display.

Missing the opportunity of bewildering the enemy on a suitable occasion when there was panic and confusion, Rana Sanga left Bhusawar and reached near Khanua on the 13th of March, 1527[77] with an immense army[78] that far exceeded the

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77 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B L.), f. 241 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 558.

78 As regards the number in Sanga's army different figures have been given by different sources :

(a) Babur in his Memoirs [MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 243 (a) (b), and Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 562] says that Rajputs were 2,01,000.

(b) Gulbadan in *Humayunnama* (Beveridge, p. 98) says that 'nearly two lakhs of cavalry assembled.'

(c) Nizamuddin in *Tabaqat* estimated the number as 1,20,000.

(d) Firishta maintains one lakh Rajputs. (Per. Text), p. 208.

(e) The number maintained in *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* is 2,00,000 men, and 2000 elephants. (Per. Text, Vol. I, p. 55).

(f) MS. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 202 gives 1,00,000.

(g) According to MS. *Granth Vanshavali* there were 2 lakhs of horsemen etc., (vide f. 48 (b).

(h) MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 59 (2) gives 1,00,000 infantry 1,08,000 horse and 2,000 war instruments, 7,000 elephants.

(i) *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 16 gives 1,00,000 horse.

Though Babur is a contemporary writer it is very difficult to agree with his number as 2,01,000 because an enemy always tries to give inflated strength of the adversary in order to prove the superior skill of his small forces. Equally unreliable is the number of horse given in the *Cambridge History*, for the Rajputs were more foot-soldiers than horsemen. Firishta, Nizamuddin and Shah Navaz Khan, though later writers, give convincing numbers of the Rana's strength.

numerical strength of his adversary.[79] He occupied the position by the 17th of March, 1527[80] near the village of Khanua[81] at a distance of four miles from Babur who too was encamped close to a hill not far from the village of Khanua.[82] Of course the Rana maintained the same order of arrangement that he had followed at Bayana.[83]

Both the armies, abounding in veteran commanders, well officered by able generals and encouraged by the spirited

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79 The fighting strength of Babur's side cannot precisely be stated as the Mughal and the Rajput sources are silent on this point. Rushbrook Williams' number which is eight or ten thousand effective is too small to be accepted, (vide *Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, p. 152). Seven to eight thousand troops must have been sent by Babur with Humayun to Jaunpur to oppose forty to fifty thousand men of Nasir Khan and Maruf Farmuli (vide MS. *Baburnama*, f. 223 (b) and Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, p. 530), and he must have kept with him at least the same number. Moreover, at Khanua his strength was increased by the contingents from Sambhal, Itawa, Dholpur, Gwalior, Jaunpur and Kalpi which had already fallen to Babur's arm. The recruitment of three thousand men through Shaikh Guran is evident from Babur's Memoirs (vide Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 526 and *Tabaqat*, Vol. II, p. 36). Though I do not fully agree with Ojha who is of opinion that at Khanua Babur had at least fifty to sixty thousand force (vide *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 373), I am inclined to think that Babur's forces were not less than 20 to 25 thousand fighting men. This conclusion is also supported by Firishta's number which was 20,000 (Per. Text, p. 208).

80 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 243 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 563.

Abul Fazl (*Akbarnama*, Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 260) gives 16th March which is incorrect.

81 *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 132 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 31 (a) :

'पानुवा नगरे तत्र शिविरं व्यतनोत्तत:'

82 MS. *Baburnama*, f. 243 (b), (S.B L.) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 563 ; Beveridge : *Humayunnama*, p. 100.

83 MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 141 (a).

leaders, came face to face at about half-past nine[84] on the 17th of March, 1527.[85] Offensive was taken by the Rajputs of the left wing headed by Medini Rai, Rao Maldeo and other notable chiefs against the right wing of Babur under Malik Qasim, Khusru Kukultash and others.[86] The charge was so effective that the Mughals forming Babur's right wing could not resist.[87] Babur instantly despatched reinforcements under Chin Timur which relieved the pressure[88] and enabled the Mughal right wing to launch an offensive. The attack was so successful that a gap was created between the left wing and the centre of the Rajputs.[89] Mustafa took the earliest opportunity to open fire which created confusion in the Rajput array.[90] But the daring action of Akhai Raj, Rai Mal Rathor and Hasan Khan Mewati engaged the left wingers of the Mughals in a conflict.[91] Thus by this time the battle ranged all along the line for a considerable period and it appeared that the entire conflict would terminate indecisively.[92] Babur was throughout this part of the action active in supplying reinforcement to his wingers who were able to maintain their position with success.[93] Though

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84 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 246 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 568 ; *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 134.

85 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 244 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 563.

86 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 246 (a) ; *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 134 ; MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 141 (a)(b).

87 Rushbrook Williams : *Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, p. 153.

88 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B L.), f. 246 (a) ; *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 133 ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 568.

89 *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 135 ; Rushbrook Williams : *Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, p. 153.

90 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 246 (b) ; *Akbarnama* (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 134 ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 569.

91 *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 134 ; MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 141 (b).

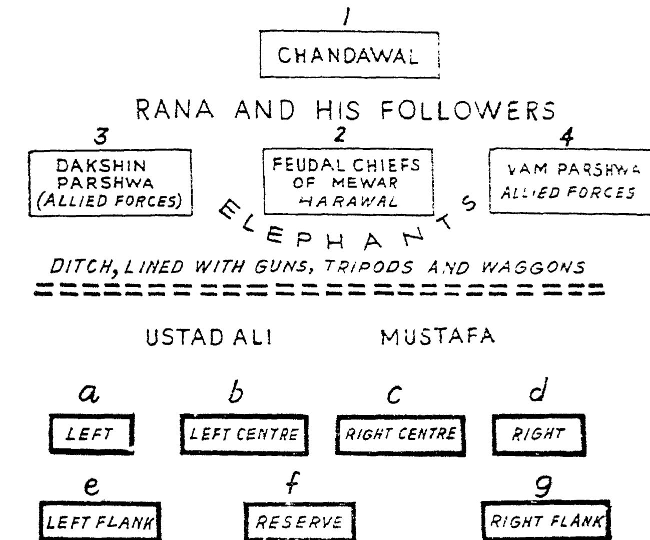
92 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 247 (a) (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 570-571.

93 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 246 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 571.

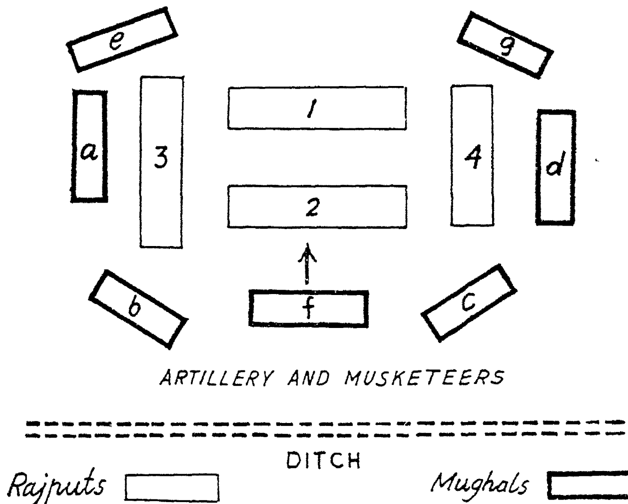
BATTLE OF KHANUA

17th MARCH 1527

POSITION I



POSITION II



the Rajputs showed great valour in their mad dash they could not stand against the dreadful fire from the enemy's artillery.[94] In the meantime the simultaneous charge of the cavalry made the confusion worse confounded. Casualties began to occur and the flower of the nobility, like Chandra Bhan Chauhan, Bhopat Rai, Manik Chandra and Dalpat, fell victims.[95] Hasan Khan was also one of them who fell by the force of a matchlock.[96]

Before these warriors had lost their lives they had succeeded in capturing some artillery pieces of the enemy. The Mughals in their turn captured the elephant bearing the Rana's flag and recovered their lost artillery pieces. Karan Singh Dodia courageously got the animal released but at the cost of his life.[97]

By these casualties which were gradually piling up the loss of the Rajputs Babur was regaining courage and strength. He ordered a simultaneous general advance of the entire troop including horsemen, gunners and right and left wingers.[98] This advance was met by Sanga's front-line heroically ; but this time again many of the chiefs like Sajja Chundawat, Rawat Jagga Sarangdevot, Rawat Bagh, Sajja Ajja and Karam Chand perished.[99]

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94 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 247 (b) ; *Akbarnama* (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 136 ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 572.

95 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B L.), f. 248 (b), *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 156 ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 573.

96 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 248 (b) : Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 573.

There are different versions about Hasan's death. Nizamuddin (Eng. Tr.) says that Hasan Khan was struck with an arrow on the face and in spite of the fact that he had thirty thousand horsemen of his own there, they left him on the spot where he fell. (Vol. II, p. 38.) Badaoni says that he was struck by an arrow and his men threw him into a well. But in comparison to Babur's account these statements are unreliable. Similarly Ahmad Yadgar's statement in *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana* (Elliot, Vol. V, pp. 36-37) as to the flight of Hasan carries no weight.

97 MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 141 (b), 142 (a).

98 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 249 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II. p. 572.

99 MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 142 (a).

This discomfiture made the Rana, who was all along the battle inspiring and guiding his men, desperate. He exposed his person in the course of the contest. As he rode between the columns he received a mortal wound from an arrow. His guards flew to his relief and the wounded Rana was gently raised, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle to a far distant place, called Baswa, in an unconscious condition under the escort of Prithvi Raj of Amber, Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur and Rao Akhai Raj Deveda of Sirohi.[100]

However, the remaining warriors requested Rao Ratan Singh the chief of Salumber to personate the Rana and assume the insignia of royalty in the latter's absence. The patriotic chief, whose motive was to serve the state to the last drop of his blood, declined to do so for his forefather Chunda had relinquished it for ever. Then by universal consent the ensigns of sovereignty were placed on Raja Rana Ajja, the Chunda of Halwad who had relinquished the throne of Halwad in Kathiawar in deference to his father's wishes. The 'Chhattra' was now held over his head and the 'Chanwar' was waved around him.[101]

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[100] MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 142 (a).

According to MS. *Phutkar Gita*, No. 717, f. 102, the Rana was removed by Bhan Simhavat on his arms, a customary way of lifting the sick and infirm.

'सांगा तणा गेरे सींहावत भुजा बल आण्या'

Abul Fazl (*Akbarnama*, Persian Text, Vol. I, p 136), and Khafi Khan (*Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Per. Text, Vol. I, p. 61.) are not right when they say that the Rana fled away from the field of battle, as all his warriors were killed in the action.

The statement in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 17 that the Rana took to flight is based on later authorities and hence is not reliable.

[101] MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 142 (b).

There is an old song quite popular in Mewar relating to Ajja's valour :

"रघु सुर तव राण सिरवारे गज सिर चढ़े
काटे खल सुरताण ईस फते कीधो अजा"

i.e., 'Ajja cut down the wicked Turks, ascending the elephant and assuming on his head the ensigns of the



Ajja

For a time under this new command the Rajput rank and file continued the action with the same vigour, of course, not knowing the departure of Sanga. But when the reports of his absence passed from rank to rank, the unifying force was broken and the fissiparous tendency of Rajput pride overwhelmed the national cause. Personal pride and feelings of superiority made them neglect criminally the object which was dear to them all. There followed a general desertion.[102]

In this interval a calamity destined to be un-Rajput like occurred. Silahadi, the cowardly traitor, in order to save himself in the hour of adversity, hastened to the enemy's side and divulged the whole secret of Sanga's absence.[103] The remaining

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family of Raghu.' The successors of Ajja Jhala of Sadri still enjoy the prerogative of entering the portals of Rana's palace with the 'Chhattra' and the 'Chanwar' like the Rana.

102 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 249 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 572-573.

103 Sarda in his *Sanga* (p. 145) mentions Silahadi's 'desertion' during the presence of the Rana which is not correct. MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, ff. 142 (b) and 143 (a), records his 'desertion' after the removal of the Rana from the battlefield which seems reliable. His desertion after the removal of the Rana is more probable.

This event is so commonly believed that we find ample evidences of it in the literature and popular songs, some of them of course belong to the same age as their style indicates.

MS. *Phutkar Gita*, No. 717, f. 102.

"भागा भूपअने डा भोपत सत सुर तंग सगलो छांड
रहियो राण रतन सी रावत मुगल तणां सामो पग मांड"

MS. *Gita Sangrah*, No. 9, p. 8.

"भंड रतनसी राजवंस मुडिया सत राषण चुंडा हर स्याम
डूगर साह सिलहदी डिगिया आवर खडग मरण दे आज"

MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 31 (b).

"तुंबरो यः सिलहदी लुंटितो निर्जितो रणे
अन्येपि देशपाला जिता संग्राम भूभुजा ते दिल्ली शेन मिलिता"

In the light of these evidences we are in a position to state that the doubts shown by modern writers, like

forces wavered with the shock so vigorously given that there was confusion and dismay. The rout was sudden and total. The onset and the victory were simultaneous. The day was lost, the defeat was absolute and all the rest of the warriors lost their lives upon the field.

Thus the battle terminated in the Mughal victory with the close of the day but no trace of the Rana was found in spite of hot pursuit made by Muhammad Kokultash. The next day the field was surveyed and a list of Mughal martyrs was prepared from the heaps of human corpses laid strewn on the road right from Khanua to Bayana. A tower of skull was raised on the mound near the camp to commemorate the great historic victory over the Rajputs. The emperor took pleasure in assuming the title of Ghazi to glorify the dazzling deed of his life.[104]

It now remains for us to examine as to why the Rana had to meet such a disaster. Pro-Rajput historians[105] ascribe the defeat of the Rana to the sole treachery of Silahadi. But to say that only treachery could have caused the defeat of the Rana is not correct. As has been shown the defection of Silahadi took place only after Sanga had left the field in wounded condition and his troops were almost in a last gasp. In fact the battle had been won by Babur before Silahadi's change of side. One must, therefore, look for the causes of Sanga's defeat elsewhere. First, the Rana had brought together a huge crowd of men most of whom were Rajputs of various clans, owing allegiance to their own tribal chiefs and believing in their traditional

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Rushbrook Williams (*Babur*, p. 156) and S. K. Banerji (*Rajput Studies*, pp. 92-93), as regards the desertion of Silahadi and his going over to Babur's side are unfounded. The major argument in support of the doubt given by them is that no Muslim writer mentions this fact, as if it was necessary for Muslim chroniclers to know and record everything under the sun.

104 MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), ff. 249, 250 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 571, 573, 574, 576 ; *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 137.

105 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 356 ; Sarda : *Maharana Sanga*, p. 145 ; Shyamlal Das : *Vir Vinod*, Vol. I, p. 366.

systems of warfare. The Rajput troops at Khanua were not amenable to discipline and were held together by the slender tie of allegiance to their chiefs and not to the ruler of Mewar. Secondly, they were mostly infantry-men and were opposed by superior well-mounted troopers under Babur. Sanga's army was undoubtedly inferior in cavalry to that of Babur whose strength lay in the predominance of quick and mobile cavalry. Thirdly, the Rana possessed no artillery which was Babur's main strength and the primary cause of success against the Rajputs. Sanga was hopelessly outclassed in weapons and, as was subsequently remarked by clever observers, 'arrows could not answer bullets.' Fourthly, Sangram Singh, thinking Babur to be an ordinary adversary, relied on his time-honoured mode of fighting ; whereas Babur who had faced in numerous battles various races such as Turks, Mangols, Uzbegs, Persians and Afghans besides Indians had not only successfully imbibed the peculiar mode of fighting of each and had made a synthesis of them all, but had with a real general's eye formed plans to suit the exigencies of the situation. The fort-like arrangement of his troops defended by an array of carts was a novel thing for Rana Sanga. Babur's turning parties wheeling round to the Rana's rear delivered charges simultaneously with murderous fire poured by the enemy's guns in the front line of Babur's army. Like all Rajputs Sanga believed in the frontal attacks and desired to overthrow the enemy's ranks by sheer physical force, which could not succeed against heavy guns. Fifthly, Babur wisely kept his watchful eye on every portion of the field and supervised the activity of his men with the skill of a general. The Rana, on the other hand, threw himself head-long into the battle like an ordinary soldier and thus not only surrendered his position as the supreme general of his troops, but lost touch with various divisions of his army. Under these circumstances his defeat was inevitable.

But whatever may have been the causes of the defeat, the consequences of the battle of Khanua were immense and immeasurable. The battle had not proved to be a light adventure for Babur who had almost staked his life and throne and suffered a grievous loss in men and money before he could claim success.

Nevertheless, the victory had far-reaching results and shifted the sovereignty of the country from the Rajputs to the Mughals who were to enjoy it for over two hundred years. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the Rajputs' power was crushed for ever and that they wielded no influence in the politics of the country. No one realised it better than Babur himself who stopped short of further encroachment upon Rajasthan.[106] After Khanua he did nothing more than storming Chanderi and obtaining possession of that fortress on 29th Jan., 1528.[107]

Soon after Khanua the life of Sanga also came to its end. When he was carried away in a litter from the field he recovered, at Baswa,[108] from his fainting fit, into which he had been thrown by loss of blood. The first words that he uttered were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms and showed impatient desire to rush into the battle. But hearing of the complete rout he waited and vowed never to enter the portals of Chitor without vanquishing his enemy. In token of the sad event he gave up putting on the turban and instead wrapped a cloth over his head.[109] However, in the hour of disaster and defeat, the Rana seemed heroic. With all his hopes blasted, with the whole fabric of his country's fortune shattered, he never lost his confidence in himself.

On hearing that Babur was engaged in the siege of Chanderi the Rana made preparations to move to that direction probably to relieve the besieged. As soon as the preparations were

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[106] MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 250 (a) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 577.

[107] MS. *Baburnama*, (S.B.L.), f. 255 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 597.

[108] Headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in the Deosa Nizamat of Jaipur (Rajasthan), situated in 27°9′N and 76°36′E, on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, 63 miles east-by-north-east of Jaipur City and 128 miles south of Delhi. The mud walls which surround the town are breached at several places and the small fort is in a dilapidated condition. (*I. G. R.*, p. 256.)

[109] MS. *Mewar ka [illegible]*, f. 143 (b).

completed he marched up to Irich[110] near Kalpi and besieged it.[111] Afag, the Governor of the emperor, put up a defence. Suddenly in the night he (Rana) became uneasy[112] probably because his own followers who had no heart to engage in another contest with Babur administered poison to him. He was taken in a litter and before he could reach Mandalgarh he died on or about 30th Jan., 1528 A.D.,[113] where still stands his cremation place crowned by a 'Chhattri'.

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[110] Irej or Irich is in the Jalaun district in the south-east direction of Kalpi, 28°88'N and 78°8'E, near Indian Midland Railway, Kanpur branch.

[111] *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 139 ; MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 81 (a) ; MS. *Granth Vanshavali*, f. 48 (a) ; MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 61 (a).

[112] MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 31 (b).

"कालपी मध्य आगतः संग्रामस्य तदाखिलैः
गरदानं कृतं त्तै (१) तैः संग्राम तादृशं पुनः
आनीय मंडल गढे मेद पाटे पुरे क्रिया
चक्रुरे तस्य ते सर्वे स्वामि द्रोह् कृतो नृपाः"

The uneasiness of the Rana at Irich has been figuratively explained by Abul Fazl who writes : "One night he beheld in a dream an ancestor of his under a dreadful appearance. He awoke in terror and horror and began to tremble. After this he immediately set about his return and on the way, the forces of death attacked him and he died." (*Akbarnama*, Per. Text, Vol. I, p. 139 ; and Beveridge : *Akbarnama*, Vol. I, p. 268.)

This uneasiness was nothing but the effect of the slow poison administered by Parmar Karam Chandra and Ratan Singh at Kalpi who were jealous of his expansion of power. [Vide *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 81 (a) and MS. *Tawarikh Vanshavali*, f. 11 (a).]

[113] The date of Sanga's death given in *Vir Vinod* (Vol. I, p. 372) is April, 1527 and followed by Sarda (*Sanga*, p. 157) is not correct.

Babur in his Memoirs (MS : *Baburnama*, f. 259 (a) (b) and Beveridge, *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, p. 598) after his conquest of Chanderi on the 30th January takes advice of his 'Begs' either to move against Rai Singh or to move on Rana Sanga. This shows that about this time Rana Sanga must have been living.

Such was the end of the extraordinary man, whose name is still cherished by posterity. The defeat and death of the Rana were not merely an appalling personal tragedy, but a great national calamity. However, the clever examination of his career shows that in spite of his heroic ability he was not a statesman of a high order. In his relations with Babur he showed vacillation and want of decision and firmness. He broke the agreement with Babur. Even after he had decided not to help him he failed to proceed and capture Agra which he ought to have done immediately after Babur had moved south of the Punjab to fight with Ibrahim Lodi. Had he done so he would have not only acquired the immense treasures and resources that lay stored in that town but also the support of the entire race of the Indian Afghans and other notables who were at that time thoroughly inimical to Babur. He occupied himself after Babur's victory at Panipat in the more congenial task of establishing his rule over the territory in Rajasthan that still belonged to the Afghans instead of making preparations for a contest with Babur. After he had conquered Bayana he did not engage Babur for about a month and foolishly allowed him time to complete his preparations. He proceeded from Bayana to Khanua by a long route that took him about a month, though from Bayana Khanua could have been reached in a day's time. He failed to appreciate the strength and weakness of Babur's position and military establishment. The greatest mistake of his life, however, must be considered to be his failure to make an alliance with Ibrahim Lodi for driving away Babur who was then a foreigner and hence an enemy not only of Ibrahim but also of all Indians of that time. An impartial student of history must, therefore, conclude the chapter of Sanga's relation with Babur by adding that the former was completely outwitted by the latter in diplomacy and war.

MS. *Granth Vanshavali* [f. 48 (a)] clearly states that after one year since his defeat of Khanua he started towards Chanderi and died of the slow effect of poison at Kalpi. Hence the probable date of his death must be about 30th January 1528 A.D.

CHAPTER III

HUMAYUN AND MEWAR ; CIVIL STRIFE AND POLITICAL LULL (1528—1536 A.D.)

The respect which we justly feel for Sanga as a heroic spirit and a contributor to the cause of his country must not blind us to the fault which he committed as a statesman. Induced by his favourite wife, Hadi Karmeti,[1] he fragmented his vast empire, acquired through the flow of copious blood of the flower of Mewar, by allotting Ranthambhor, the strongest citadel of his eastern dominion, along with fifty to sixty lakhs of Jagirdari, to her sons, Vikram and Uda, leaving the rest of his territory to Rana Ratan Singh,[2] his eldest son by his wife Dhan Bai. This act of political blunder ushered in again a period of inglorious civil war and sowed the seed of rivalry and class feuds which checked the political progress and marred the prestige of Sisodias.

Having secured his power Ratan Singh, an anaemic figure who had boastfully ordered that the gates of Chitor should never be closed as its portals were Delhi and Mandu,[3] demanded the fort of Ranthambhor from his step-mother who was then living under the tutelage of her brother Surajmal, the Hada Chief of Bundi.[4] The Rani in a wilful manner evaded all

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1 She was the daughter of Narbad and grand-daughter of Rao Bhan of Bundi. She is also styled as Karmavati. Babur wrongly calls her Padmavati. (Vide MS. *Baburnama*, f. 265 (b) ; Beveridge : *Baburnama*, Vol. II, p. 612.)

2 Son and successor of Rana Sanga, born of Dhan Bai, the daughter of Sujavat of Jodhpur who reigned from 1528 A.D. to 1531 A.D.

3 MS. *Tawarikh Vanshavali*, f. 12 (a).

4 MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 147 (a).

correspondence and interviews for settlement and began to foment intrigues to push forward the claims of her own sons, Vikram and Uda, for the Gadi. She entered into secret communications[5] with Babur promising Ranthambhor in exchange for Bayana, besides the valuable trophies of Malwa brought by Sanga if Babur gave her assistance in securing Chitor for her two sons. Although nothing serious came out of this communication immediately, owing to Babur's pre-occupation with the internal problems of his empire, his sympathetic and encouraging reply converted the queen's somewhat negative feelings towards him into friendly sentiments.

However, Babur's apathy towards the problem of Mewar and his departure from the scene of action destined Ratan Singh to enjoy the dignity of lordship over Chitor for about five years in peace without diminution of an acre of land to his inherited territory. But his career, a sad caricature of such a full-blooded personality like Sanga, came to a close as the result of the miscarriage of a vicious plan[6] that he had contrived for the murder of Surajmal at a hunting excursion at Bundi in 1531 A.D.[7]

The murder of Ratan Singh sent a thrill of horror through the length and breadth of his kingdom and every body was seized with panic and insecurity. However, the gap was filled

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5 MS. *Baburnama*, f. 265 (b) ; Beveridge : *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II, pp. 612-613 ; MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, f. 147 (a).

6 MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 62 (a) : "At Bundi a hunting party was organised on the day of the festival of the 'Aheriya' (the spring hunt), when both Surajmal and Ratan Singh fell by each other's weapons."

7 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 530. As regards the actual date of his death nothing can be said with certainty. But from a copper-plate No. 460 recorded in the Register of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, of Vikramaditya's time of the 7th of the dark-half of Ashad, V.S. 1589 (25th June, 1531 A.D.) we get a clue that Vikramaditya had succeeded to the throne of Mewar by that time. Another copper-plate in the same office, No. 105 of Ratan Singh's time, dated the 12th of the dark-half of Phalgun, V.S. 1587 (24th Feb., 1530 A.D.) of Ratan

by the succession of his half-brother Vikramaditya (1531–1536 A.D.), an insolent, passionate and vindictive youth. The political upheavals of his time had not taught him any lesson of value and even the formal education that was given to men of his clan had left him untouched. He remained to the end of his life one of those few Ranas who were totally devoid of taste for warlike pursuits. He was without a trace of modesty and his rude and brutish mind remained uncultivated. He took delight in the amusements of the sports and combats of gladiators and the hunting of wild animals. Women and wine were the things in which he used to delight. His constant neglect of the affairs of the state plunged the country into anarchy and strife. He spent his time in drunken revels and orgies, unmindful of his responsibilities and blind to foreign danger looming large over his fortune. The business of the Government was carried by hare-brained chatterers and buffoons whom he esteemed and with whom he consorted and counselled. He disregarded the precepts and practice of his forefathers and began to lay the foundation of that hatred which was soon to become so fatal for every class of Mewar. The old feudal lords, the embodied experience of the race, watered and watched by his predecessors, and who had served the state with signal devotion since the days of Bapa, retired to their Jagirdari (leaving the intemperate and licentious youth to his fate) because they were being constantly insulted by him.[8]

When affairs of the state fell into such confusion and mutual jealousies and quarrels made the co-operation for the common end impossible, Nar Singh Deo (Sanga's nephew) and other Jagirdars who were driven into revolt by the haughty conduct of the Rana and who were hatching plots to get rid of him

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Singh's time shows that he was living during that year. Now the 'Aheriya' festival falls in the month of Chaitra, one month and one year after the date of the plate No. 105 referred to above. Hence his death must have occurred in the month of Chaitra of the V.S. 1188 (March 1531 A.D.) MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat,* ff. 82 (b), 83 (a) (b) ; *Vir Vinod,* Vol. II, 27 ; *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. III, p. 530.

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approached Bahadur Shah of Gujarat with suggestion of invading Chitor.[9]

Such a proposal was welcome to the Sultan who had long cherished the dream of the conquest of Mewar. He, unmindful of his past obligations[10] to the Rana and his mother, ordered Muhammad Khan Asiri in 1532 to assault the fort with a large army. Khudawand Khan who was at Mandu, was also instructed to join him.[11]

When the invading army arrived near Mandasor, Vikram's repose was rudely broken and he sent a proposal for peace with his Vakil, offering to pay a handsome tribute.* But the two generals proceeded onwards unmindful of the allurement of profit.

Now it was a difficult and dangerous situation to which the fort was drifting. There was no way of extricating the country from this impending peril. Vikram had no power to cope with such circumstances as these, specially as he had alienated the sympathies of his feudal barons who were great warriors. Karmeti, who had better gauged the temper of the new situation and who had greater energy and versatility in dealing with difficult situations than her son, sent an appeal[12] through an

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[9] MS. Nensi's *Khyat Gujarat*, f. 14 (b).

[10] While a prince, Bahadur Shah had fled from his brother Sikandar to the Rana at Chitor where he was welcomed and provided all kinds of comforts by the Rana (vide *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Per. Text), p. 225).

MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 14 (a) and MS. *Suryavansh*, f. 63 (b), MS. *Vanshavali Adi Param Shivthi*, f. 50 (b).

[11] *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Per. Text) p. 260 ; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, p. 118.

* *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Per. Text), p. 260.

[12] MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 87 (a) ; MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 63 (b) ; MS. *Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas*, ff. 151 (a) (b), 152 (a).

Kaviraj Shyamal Das in his *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 27, mentions that Vikramaditya himself went to Delhi to solicit help which is not probable as it was against tradition for a Rana to visit the Mughal Court.

Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 22, also

envoy named Padam Shah to Humayun with a bracelet[13] soliciting his help reminding him of her cordial relations with Babur. The emperor showed formal sympathy, and sent back the envoy with presents for the Rani.[14] But he made no response to the appeal owing to his religious feelings.[15] He only marched as far as Gwalior and after about a month's stay there (Feb. and March, 1533) went back to Agra.[16]

However, the desperate attempt of the Rani to enlist Humayun's help should not be viewed too severely; for she realised that no power except that of Delhi could be considered as a match for Bahadur Shah. But where she miscalculated was in relying on the friendliness of Humayun. Humayun, being a pious Musalman, did not want, at any rate, at that moment, to quarrel with a fellow Musalman to aid an 'infidel'. She had staked her all on the aid from Humayun, having alienated by this act of hers her feudal nobles whose pride was deeply hurt by a Rajput begging for aid at the hands of a Muslim. They, therefore, stood aloof and watched Chitor falling a prey to Gujarat arms (without lifting a finger to save it). This was the price she had to pay for her mistake.

In the meantime Tatar Khan, Bahadur Shah's general, proceeded to besiege the fort. Posting his men on all sides, he launched a successful attack at two of the gates of the fort on the 31st Jan., 1533 A.D. The Gujarat army was further strengthened when Muhammad Khan Asiri and Khudawand

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mentions about an application for help which the Rana sent to the Emperor. It is just possible that the Rani might have sent the application on behalf of the Rana.

13 It is locally called Rakhi, primarily a protective amulet assumed at the full moon of Sawan. Those who exchange it are called Rakhi-Dora-ka-Bhai-Bahan—brothers and sisters of bracelet.

14 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 81 (b).

15 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 22; MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 63 (b).

16 MS. *Humayunnama* of Khwandamir, (S.B.L.), p. 82-85; MS. *Humayunnama* of Khwandamir (Eng. Tr.), p. 61; Gulbadan's *Humayunnama* (Beveridge), p. 116; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 22; Banerji : *Humayun*, p. 87.

Khan had also reached there with their respective contingents on the 3rd Feb. 1533 A.D. The assailants got courage when during the course of the expedition the Sultan also reached there personally. The siege operations were under the supreme charge of Rumi Khan whose artillery fire began to tell heavily upon rocks and buildings and brought the defences into confusion.[17]

Thus deprived of external help and internal co-operation the Rani had to purchase peace[18] by offering the trophies of Malwa, golden girdle and jewelled crown, and had to present a large sum of money along with 100 horses and 10 elephants as tribute. Bahadur raised the siege on the 24th March, 1533 A.D. and returned to Gujarat.

Such a desperate device could not bring peace to Mewar and the averting of Bahadur's danger gave only a temporary respite to the Sisodias. War clouds began to hover again over the horizon of Chitor owing to the lack of political insight on the part of Vikram. He could learn nothing by experience. By his fondness for worthless minions, and by the sanction which he

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17 *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, (Per. Text), p. 262. MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (S.B.L.), Vol. I, p. 118.

Al-Badaoni in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Per. Text) Vol. I, p. 344 is not right when he refers to this Bahadur's invasion of Chitor against Rana Sanga whom he has mistaken for Rana Vikramaditya.

MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 84 (b), mentions that Bahadur's army and the Rana's force had their first encounter at Loicha (near Bundi) in which the Rana was defeated.

Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 530 also gives the account of this encounter at Loicha before Bahadur laid a siege against Chitor.

18 *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, (Per. Text), pp. 262-263 ; *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 158 ; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 344 ; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (S.B.L.), Vol. I, p. 118.

According to Nensi, f. 14 (b). Udai Singh, the brother of Vikramaditya, was sent as a hostage to the court of the Sultan which seems unlikely.

Bayley : *History of Gujarat*, p. 372 ; Banerji : *Humayun*, p. 87.

gave to their tyranny and rapacity, he kept discontent constantly alive. His haughty behaviour compelled the nobles to migrate to Gujarat and to instigate[19] Bahadur Shah to again invade Mewar. An ambitious man like Bahadur seized the opportunity and opened a campaign against Chitor.

At this very time Humayun was on his way to fight Bahadur who had sometimes before given shelter to the Mughal Emperor's cousin Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a rebel and refugee from Bayana. Bahadur Shah, anxious to complete the conquest of Chitor before Humayun could reach and open an offensive against him, pushed the siege with vigour. At the same time Bahadur had a recourse to a clever stratagem for preventing Humayun from interfering, and wrote to him to the effect that as he was engaged in a fight against the infidels he expected that the emperor would not interfere and allow him to reduce Chitor and exalt the Muslim faith. Humayun who did not possess either the skill of a consummate general or shrewdness of a politician considered the imperial advance as an unreligious act. He, therefore, postponed his further advance.[20]

This inaction and want of foresight of the emperor have been defended by Dr. Banerji[21] on the ground that thereby Humayun acquired several political advantages over his enemy. But one

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19 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat,* f. 84 (b).

20 MS. *Tezkereh-ul-Vakiat* of Jauhar, (S.B.L.), ff. 6-7 ; *Mirat-i-Sikandari,* (Per. Text), pp. 265-272 ; *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. I, p 160 ; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 346 ; Firishta : *Tarikh-i-Firishta,* (Per. Text), p. 214.

Firishta mentions that he was advised by Sadar Khan, his Minister, that Humayun would not attack him while he was engaged in a war with non-Muslims.

21 Dr. Banerji says in his *Humayun* (pp. 118-119) : "It must not, however, be supposed that Humayun was here meekly carrying out the wishes of the Gujaratis ; for though technically he did not violate the Muslim convention of refraining from an attack on a brother-in-faith engaged in war with the unbelievers, actually he gained an advantage over his enemy." According to Dr. Banerji the advantages

fails to see any such advantage. His Muslim convictions proved ruinous to his cause and destructive to the Rajputs. If at the proper moment he had attacked Bahadur, Humayun could have killed two birds with one stone, fulfilling his duty of chivalry by responding to the Rajput appeal, and saving himself from the botheration of following Bahadur from place to place. Humayun, however, was guided by intuitions and inspirations rather than by cool inference from carefully surveyed facts. It was ordained that Chitor should be laid waste and Humayun to carry to his grave the blame that he could not keep his promise even when there was an opportunity to do so. Sri Ram Sharma[22] rightly observes : "He sacrificed his own chances of an easy success against Bahadur Shah rather than interfere in his chances of earning religious merit by defeating an infidel." Even his biographer Dr. Banerji[23] admits that "Humayun, probably, never realised the advantages that he threw away by not proceeding immediately to the aid of the Rajputs ; for he might have, if he had chosen, earned their permanent gratitude by the timely aid."

"(a) He occupied a part of the enemy's territories and obtained a hold on its resources.

(b) Humayun by his stay at Sarangpur and at Ujjain was able to win over the Malwa people, including the Purbia Rajputs whom Bahadur had offended.

(c) He placed himself between Mandugarh and the Gujarat army and this made it impossible for his adversary to reach the Malwa capital without passing through his camp.

(d) Even after the capture of Chitor if Bahadur were to attempt to reach Ahmadabad along with his heavy gun, it would be easy for the lightly equipped Humayun to out-distance him.

(e) In a war between Bahadur and the Mughals, it was possible for Humayun to receive some indirect support from the Rajputs who had surrendered themselves to the Sultan in the north and in the west. They must have sent provisions to him."

None of these so-called advantages have any substance in them.

22 Sri Ram Sharma : *The Religious Policy of the Mughals* p, 10.

23 Banerji : *Humayun*, p. 118, f.n. 3.

Thus when Humayun unheroically withdrew and encamped at Sarangpur[24] Bahadur commenced his operation of the siege of Chitor in January 1535. The sole charge of the attack was entrusted to Rumi Khan who as before occupied a neighbouring hillock at the south-western extremity of the fort just opposite to Bika Khoh.[25]

When the impending danger could no longer be averted, Karmeti stood equal to the task and adopted the right course by requesting the Rajput heroes to assemble under the crimson banner of the Sisodias in order to defend the hearths and homes of the people of Chitor. Her appeal had a desired effect. All the chiefs rushed from different quarters of Mewar for the defence of the capital. Unpopular Vikram and young Uda were sent away to Bundi and the sole charge of direction of defence was entrusted by the council of war to Bagh Singh[26] of Deolia Pratapgarh who lost no time in posting various commanders[27] at different points to oppose the assailants.

Early in March, 1535 Rumi Khan's artillery became active against the south-western defences of the Rajputs. Hada Arjun who was defending this point stood to his last which made it impossible for the assailants to enter the fort from that

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24 *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 160, says Ujjain. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 346; Firishta : *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, (Per. Text), p. 214.

25 *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, (Per. Text), pp. 261-262; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (S.B.L.), Vol. I, pp. 119-120; MS. *Tezkereh-ul-Vakiat* of Jauhar, (S.B.L.), ff. 4-7.

26 MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 63 (b); MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 86 (a).

As Bagh Singh assumed the dignity of the Rana he was addressed as 'Diwanji', the title of the Rana. The descendants of Bagh Singh still enjoy the title of Diwan (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 33).

27 According to MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, ff. 85 (b), 86 (a) and *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II. p. 30 they were :

Bagh Singh took his post at Bhairo Pol; Solanki Bhairo Das and Jhala Sajja were stationed at Hanuman Pol and Ganesh Pol respectively; Hada Arjun was posted at Bika Khoh and other chiefs of repute were posted either at Lakhota Bari or Suraj Pol.

direction, although Rumi Khan was successful in hurling down the walls to the extent of thirty yards near Bika Khoh by means of mining operations. Nearly five hundred Rajputs suffered death by this action. In order to keep the defences intact on this side many Rajputs from other posts ran to check the further progress of the enemy. At last Rumi Khan finding his task difficult ordered his men to rush to the other defences of the fort. The enemy artillery did such fierce execution that the Rajputs thought it desirable to open the main gate of the fort where Bhairo Das was leading and fight the enemy in the open but the superior might of the enemy overwhelmed the Rajputs who died the heroic death along with Bagh at Bhairo Pol, where his 'Chhattri' stands to this day. The other notables who gloriously met their end were Solanki Bhairo Das, Raja Rana Sajja, Rawat Duda, Kawat Devi Das, Purohit Narain Das, Rawat Singha etc. But before the gates were opened Rani Karmeti had committed 'Jauhar' followed by 13,000 women. Innocent children numbering about 3,000 were thrown into the pit or into the wells in order to save them falling into Muslim hands. The total casualties were of 32,000 men who either fell fighting in their action or who fell a prey to the enemy assassins' swords.[28]

The victorious army then entered the fort and opened fire and plundered the houses and carried on destructive ravages.[29] The fort was captured on the 8th of March, 1535.[30]

Immediately after the reduction of Chitor and its occupation by Bahadur, Humayun who had proceeded as far as Mandasor[31] prepared to launch an attack on Bahadur. The Sultan of Gujarat was, therefore, obliged to leave a garrison at Chitor

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28 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, ff. 85 (a)(b), 86 (a)(b) ; MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 14 (a) ; MS. Nensi's *Khyat Gujarat*, f. 199 (b).

29 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 86 (b) ; D. Ross : *Arabic History of Gujarat*, p. 230.

30 *Mirat-i Sikandari*, (Per. Text), p. 274 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama* (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 160 ; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, p. 122.

31 MS. *Tezkereh-ul-Vakiat* of Jauhar (S.B.L.), ff. 4-7 ; Gulbadan : *Humayunnama* (Beveridge), p. 131 ; *Akbarnama* (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 160 ; MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 64 (a).

under the charge of Burhan-ul-Mulk Banbani[32] and proceeded in the direction of Mandasor to face the Mughals. The moment Bahadur left Chitor, the Rajputs rallied their scattered strength and occupied the fort with the help of 5,000 to 7,000 men. Vikram was recalled from Bundi and the reinstallation of Sisodias in Chitor was accomplished.[33]

Tradition has it that Humayun visited Chitor after his victory over Bahadur and reinvested Vikramaditya as a ruler of Mewar. This is, however, not borne out by sober history. Humayun visited Chitor on the 8th of June, 1536 A.D.,[34] not to perform the investiture ceremony of the Rana but to settle his scores with his brother Askari who had not only abandoned his charge at Ahmadabad but had also set himself as king in opposition to Humayun.[35] This shows that the Rajputs had reoccupied Chitor as soon as Bahadur Shah's back was turned. Vikramaditya was, therefore, the 'de facto' and 'de jure' ruler of Mewar long before Humayun's visit to Chitor had taken place.

Humayun had failed to appreciate the fact that the Rajputs of Rajasthan had not fallen beyond redemption and that they were likely to play an important role in the politics of the country. Much less could he imagine that an alliance would convert them into a bulwark of the Mughal family and the Mughal Empire. Had he been as gifted and foresighted a statesman as his son (Akbar) he would not have allowed religious feelings to over-ride considerations of statesmanship. That policy was, however, reserved for Akbar, the great, who successfully harnessed the Rajput loyalty and heroism to the furtherance of his scheme of making himself the Lord paramount of India.

As for the dowager queen Karmeti and her two sons, Vikramaditya and Udai Singh, history cannot but look upon them as

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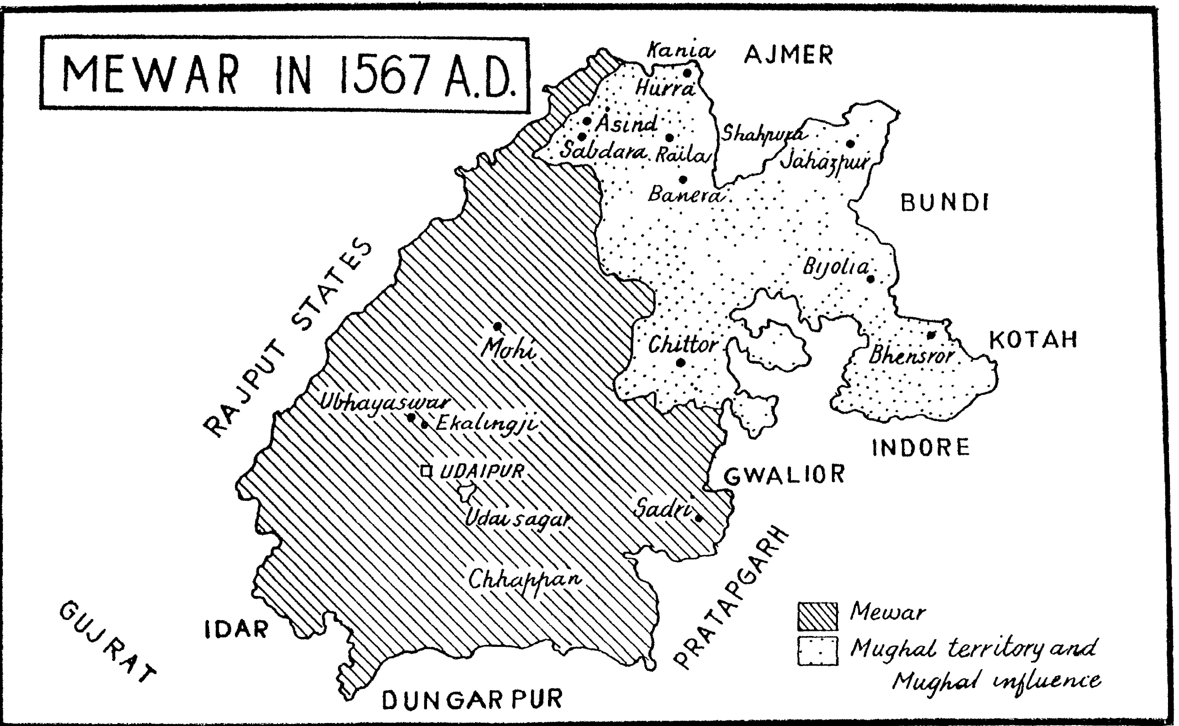
32 MS. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* (Per. Text), p. 274; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (S B L.), Vol. I, p. 123.

33 Nensi's *Khyat Gujarat*, f. 199 (b); *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 32-33; Ojha: *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 400.

34 Banerji: *Humayun*, p. 168.

35 Gulbadan: *Humayunnama* (Beveridge), pp. 132-133.

mediocre personalities who reduced the reputation of Mewar and its ruling house to the lowest ebb. Karmeti showed energy and ideas but her policy was confused and based on narrow self-interest. Little did she understand that Humayun possessed no chivalry or magnanimity for non-Muslims however brave and deserving. Vikramaditya, the nominal ruler, acted no better than a tool in the hands of his mother. If Mewar was recovered from the hands of Sultan Bahadur's men it was not due to the valour of its ruler but to the circumstances of the time. The most panegyric of bards has not a word to say in praise of Vikramaditya.


MEWAR IN 1567 A.D.
Kania
AJMER
Hurra
Asind
Sabdara
Raila
Shahpura
Jahazpur
Banera
BUNDI
Bijolia
Chittor
Bhensror
KOTAH
RAJPUT STATES
Mohi
Ubhayaswar
Ekalingji
UDAIPUR
Udaisagar
INDORE
GWALIOR
Sadri
PRATAPGARH
Chhappan
GUJRAT
IDAR
DUNGARPUR
Mewar
Mughal territory and Mughal influence

CHAPTER IV

UDAI SINGH AND AKBAR : THE TRAGIC END OF CHITOR (1536—1572 A.D.)

A great change had come about in the position of Mewar and in the spirit of the Mughal power, during the period between the events we have just related and the tragedy to which we are coming. Vikramaditya's continued offensive and arrogant attitude terminated in his murder by the nobles who raised Vanbir, an illegitimate son of heroic Prithviraj, to the throne of Chitor in 1536 A. D. But Vanbir realised that he would not succeed in perpetuating his rule unless the heir-designate Udai Singh, who still commanded the respect and esteem of the nobility, was got rid of. Therefore, one night, he managed to have access to the palace where the prince was sleeping. But before he arrived the prince had been removed to a place of safety by the cautious and daring action of his nurse Panna,[1] a woman of great resourcefulness and sterling devotion to the person of her royal ward. Vanbir gave a blow of his sword to the sleeping boy who was no other person than Panna's own son who had been intentionally placed on the heir-apparent's bed. The murderer thought that he had despatched Udai Singh.

The news of the ghastly murder spread like wildfire throughout the town of Chitor and made people believe that Udai Singh had fallen a victim to Vanbir's sword.[2] But in fact Udai Singh

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1 The old palaces of Udai Singh where his foster-mother left her son to be murdered are still to be seen and are called Panna's palaces at Chitor. Panna's name has become proverbial for devotion to her royal ward.

2 MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 63(b).

was alive and had been rescued to Kumbhalgarh in 1536[3] by a trusted servant of the palace. He was kept in concealment for about a year.

But not long after the news leaked out and gave an occasion to the nobility to gather round him at Kumbhalgarh to acclaim him as their king. It is clear from two copper-plate[4] inscriptions issued from Kumbhalgarh dated 1537 A.D. that he was acknowledged as the rightful king of Mewar by some of the loyal nobles who had left Chitor owing to the unbecoming conduct of Vanbir.[5]

Soon after Udai Singh felt himself strong enough to lead an expedition against the usurper, Vanbir. When the news of his approach reached the ears of Vanbir, he was much alarmed and began to organise his forces. But the army of Chitor which was demoralised by indolence and want of patronage was no match for the sturdy partisans of Uda. After a hotly contested engagement Vanbir fled from the battle-field and the crown of Chitor was put on the head of the heir of Sanga in about 1540 A.D. (V.S. 1597).[6]

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3 *Rampol Inscription*, V.S. 1593 of Vanbir ; *Currencies of Rajputana*, p. 7 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 60-63. At this time Udai Singh was only fifteen years of age. He was born in the year 1521 A.D. (*Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Vol. I, p. 115 gives his exact date of birth as the 12th of the bright-half of Bhadrapad, V.S. 1578).

4 One copper-plate referred to above has been preserved in the form of a photograph, vide No. 306, Mal. V.S. 61 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur. It was issued by Udai Singh's personal order at Kumbhalgarh on the 15th of the bright-half of Kartik, V.S. 1594 (4th Oct. 1537). The other plate, No. 306 Mal. V.S. 61, dated 9th Oct. 1537, 5th of Kartika of V.S. 1594 in the same office, records the grant of village 'Bhara' to Badrikesh. The grant was issued from Kumbhalgarh.

5 *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 32 (b).

6 (a) The date has been deduced from a copper-plate No. 26/B, 133 Jagir Misal, V.S. 95 recently discovered by me in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur dated the 1st of the bright-half of Jaith, V.S. 1597 (7th May 1540 A.D.). The plate shows that the Rana gave in grant the village of Kambod to Bagha who had fought in the battle. The

When Udai Singh assumed the reins of office, the kingdom of Mewar was in a state of confusion and chaos. There was lack of prosperity at home and security abroad. A new ruler Sher Shah, who had inflicted, one after another, two crushing defeats upon Humayun, was consolidating his hold over northern India. Udai Singh, the new ruler of Chitor, had not been for more than four years on his ancestral throne before he heard the disturbing news of Sher Shah's march towards his capital about June 1544.[7] After his contest with Maldev of Jodhpur from which he ultimately emerged victorious (about March 1544)[8] though not without a tremendous loss of his men and money, he occupied Jodhpur and from there proceeded victoriously towards Chitor. When he reached Jahazpur[9] where he encamped, Udai Singh feeling himself unable to drive away the invader sent the keys of the fort as a token of surrender.[10] With the terrible experience of his recent war with the Rathors of Jodhpur before him, Sher Shah wisely accepted the offer and desisted from proceeding to Chitor and besiege it. He allowed the Rana to remain in

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battle referred to seems to be no other than the battle with Vanbir. The plate also bears the name of his minister Sooja-Shah.

(b) MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 33 (a).

'वर्षे सप्तनव त्याख्ये गते पंचदशे शते
उदयसिंहे महार्बलैर्युतः चित्रकूटे प्रविष्टः'

7 Abbas : *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, (MS.), f. 69 (b) ; Qanungo : *Sher Shah*, p. 332.

8 Abbas : *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, ff. 69 (b), 70 (a) ; Qanungo : *Sher Shah*, p. 329.

9 This must have been the place which is referred to by Abbas (vide *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 70 : 'Dawazda Karva mand.' The palace of Jahazpur, situated on the bank of the river Nagdi, and now used as the Tahsil Office, is ascribed to Sher Shah's time. This fact supports Abbas' statement.

10 Abbas : *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, (S.B.L.), f. 79 (b) : 'Kilid Kila Firistad'. Firishta's statement : 'Sher Shah now marched against the fort of Chitor which surrendered by capitulation' (*Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Briggs, p. 123) cannot be accepted as against Abbas' statement which is clear and precise.

possession of his territory as is clear from Firishta's[11] statement that Sher Shah concluded a treaty with the Rana. Shamas Khan's[12] appointment as the Governor was nominal; probably he was charged with the duty of realising annual tribute from the Rana and seeing that the latter did not repudiate the authority of the Afghan suzerain. Professor Qanungo's observations on Sher Shah's policy towards Rajasthan are worthy of reproduction. "In Rajputana," writes he, "Sher Shah made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them to thorough subjection. He found the task dangerous as well as fruitless. He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence."[13]

Immediately after Sher Shah's death Chitor seems to have driven away the Afghan garrison and freed itself from the foreign domination. We know it from sober history that in July, 1545 Maldev of Jodhpur had recovered his territory from the hands of the Afghans and banished all traces of Afghan rule. Chitor must have followed suit.

This nominal occupation of Chitor by a foreign power was an eye-opener to the Rana. He realised the futility of staking everything on the defences of a fort that lay exposed in the open and sought out a new sight for his capital in Girwa, a mountainous district in the Udaipur Division, which was well protected by natural ramparts of one hill after another and was not easily accessible. His construction work began in V.S. 1616 (1559 A.D.) when the foundation of Udaipur[14] was laid. A lake named Udai Sagar[15] was constructed about the same

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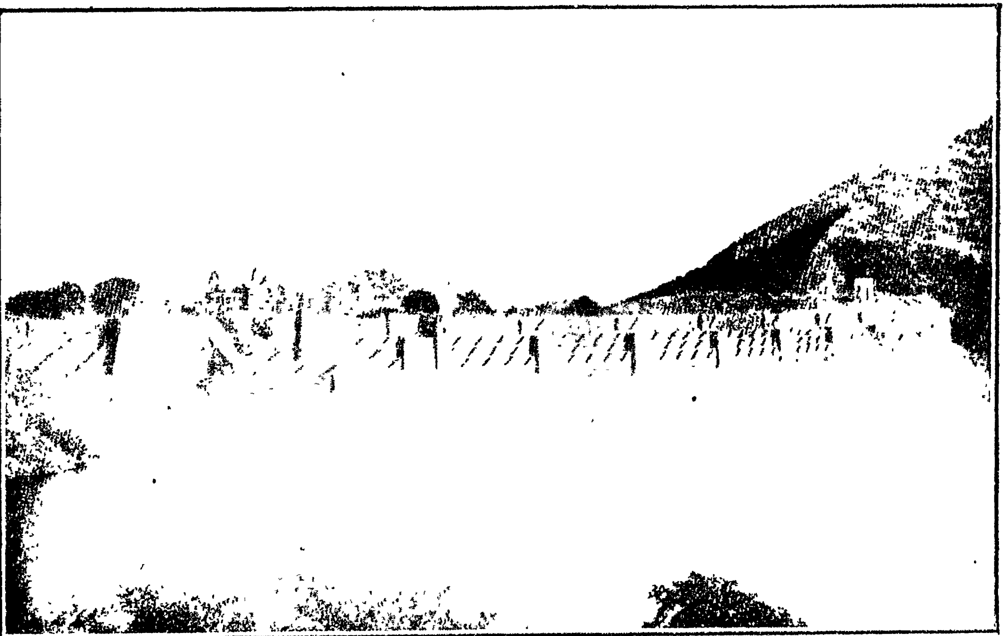
11 Firishta (Per. Text) p. 228 clearly writes that Sher Shah returned back after concluding a treaty (*suleh*) with the Rana: 'Chitor rafta ba suleh giraft.'

12 Abbas: *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, f. 70 (b).

13 Qanungo: *Sher Shah*, pp. 333.

14 MS. *Suryavansha*, f. 52 (a); Ojha: *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 421.

15 The lake lies eight miles east of Udaipur, and is 2½ miles long and 1½ miles broad. It drains 185 miles of country. The water is held up by a lofty dam of massive stone blocks, thrown across a narrow outlet between two hills, a little south of Deobari at the eastern entrance to the



Udai Sagar

year.[16] This was not all. He launched upon a plan to inhabit the outer and inner Girwa by giving grant of land in profusion to bring a large tract of area under cultivation. More than fifty copper-plates[17] recently discovered in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur show that Udai Singh's policy was to attract people from the northern part of his state, which was then exposed to foreign attack, to the vicinity of his newly established capital where he assigned land to many prominent families of his supporters. The grants were not made in a light-hearted fashion. There lay at the back of them a deep-rooted policy whose soundness was proved by the fact that the people of this area became a bulwark of defence against the Mughals during the reigns of Udai Singh and his son, the famous Pratap. The Rana also entered into a

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Girwa or Udaipur valley. The embankment has an average breadth of 180 ft. (*Rajputana Gazettee*—Mewar Residency, p. 9.)

16 A copper-plate inscription No. 796 recently discovered in the Commissioner's Office at Udaipur, dated the 30th of the dark-half of Magh, V.S. 1616 (7th Feb 1559 A.D.) makes mention of the grant of land given at Udai Sagar and shows that by that time the lake associated with his name had come into existence.

17 Malikheda-Grant, No. 666, dated 2nd of the bright-half of Phalgun V S. 1617, to Baba Shukalpuri.

Jhalodiya-Grant, No. 492, dated the 15th Kartika, V.S. 1617, to Pitamber.

Karda-Grant, No. 565, dated the 13th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1617, to Kesho Ram.

Chhibda-Grant, No. 65, dated the 15th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1617, to Permanand.

Kalhola-Grant, No. 605, dated the 2nd of the bright-half of V.S. 1617, to Gopal Trivedi.

Halad-Grant, No. 151, of the 15th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1621, to Manohar Giri.

Manka-Grant, No. 190. dated the 5th of the bright-half of V.S. 1621, to Goswami Malpuri.

Dudara-Grant, No. 204, dated the 9th of the bright-half of Chaitra, V.S. 1621, to Sevak Gopi.

The other grants are Nos. 752, 717, 394, 430, 786, 598, 618, 661, 13, 62, 78, 104, 157, 183, 198, 205, 222, 265, 267, 273, 306, 308, 334, etc.

political alliance with Rao Surjan of Bundi (1554 A.D.)[18] and attacked and defeated Haji Khan Pathan of Ajmer (1556 A.D.).[19] He also gave shelter to Man Singh Deora of Sirohi[20] in 1562 A.D. He subdued the Rathors of Bhomat and established his authority over Juda, Ogna and Panarwa in the south-western part of his state (1563 A.D.).[21] Thus Udai Singh was successful in making his position safe by internal organisation and tentative attempts at widening his power beyond Mewar. The administration of the country again resumed its old vigour and energy. Confidence was placed by granting lands as referred to above with people who had given proof of their courage and loyalty.

But the repose which the country enjoyed during the major part of his reign was not destined to continue for long. Greater calamities were awaiting Mewar and she had to taste further troubles as a result of the designs of the greatest of the Mughal ruler, Akbar, a statesman whose fame was growing with time, a mind open and accessible to those ideas and endowed with such gifts of skill, vigilance, caution which were destined to play a large part in the growth of Mughal sovereignty.

Let us briefly note, then, the causes and the courses of the gigantic struggle between the Mughal power and Mewar.

Abul Fazl,[22] the court historian, ascribes the invasion of Mewar by his master to the need for punishing the Rana's audacious and arrogant pride due to his possession of big castles and mountains. According to Nizamuddin[23] and Badaoni[24] the

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[18] *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 69-70.

[19] *Akbarnama* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 56 : Nensi's *Khyat Gujarat*, ff. 17(a) (b), 18 (a); MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 33 (b) :

"अजमेरिस जग्राह सुरतानाय तां ददौ
रावाय सर्वं वेरांच पठानेभ्यो गृहीतवान्"

[20] Ojha : *Sirohi Rajya ka Ithias*, pp. 207-214.

[21] MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 23 (b).

[22] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 380-381.

[23] Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p. 262 ; MS. *Mausir-ul-Umara* (S.B.L.), Vol. I, ff. 123 (a), 124 (b).

[24] Badaoni: *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 102; (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p 48.

cause of the invasion was that the Rana had extended his hospitality to Baz Bahadur of Malwa (1562 A.D.). Smith[25] says that the causes of the invasion were the political expediencies and economic necessities implied in Akbar's aspiring for the domination of the whole Hindustan.

But there is one important point which must not be lost sight of. Some modern writers[26] have tried to show that all Rajput chiefs had submitted to Akbar and it was Mewar alone that had held aloof and disclaimed entering into an alliance with the Mughal emperor ; whereas Akbar did not like that one solitary state in Rajasthan should refuse to have anything to do with the paramount power like his and that was why he was compelled to take up arms against the Rana. This thesis is disapproved by the sober facts of history. Before Akbar had launched an expedition against Chitor in October, 1567, the only Rajput family of note that had entered into an alliance with him was the Kachhwaha family of Amber (1562).[27] In Rajasthan proper Akbar had acquired one important fortress before his siege of Chitor, that was Merta (1562).[28] Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer, the major states had not yet shown any sign of entering into any friendly alliance with Akbar. The truth, therefore, was that Akbar must have felt that if he could bring about the reduction of Chitor and convert the Rana into his vassal, other Rajput states iu Rajasthan, like Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer would submit without fighting. And Akbar was right. His policy was based on a correct understanding of the politics of Rajasthan and the psychology of the Rajput chieftains of the time. Within two or three years of the fall of Chitor the rulers of Ranthambhor (1569),[29] Jodhpur (1570),[30] Bikaner (1570),[31] and Jaisalmer (1570)[32] submitted to Delhi and entered into

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25 Smith : *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 82.
26 Satis Chandra Mitra & D. N. Ghosh : *Partab Singha*, p. 38.
27 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 81.
28 *Ibid*, p. 82.
29 *Ibid*, p. 100.
30 *Ibid*, p. 102.
31 *Ibid*, p. 102.
32 *Ibid*, p. 102.

matrimonial alliances with Akbar. Secondly, apart from the above psychological reason the security of Akbar's newly conquered dominion lay in establishing his supremacy over Rajasthan, particularly Mewar, whose ruler had given shelter, as we have seen, to Baz Bahadur of Malwa in 1562 A.D. A little before this time the Rana had welcomed at his court Jaimal of Merta who was defeated by Sharaf Uddin Hussain (1562 A.D.)[33] and driven out of that powerful fortress. Thirdly, without bringing Mewar, or at least Chitor and a portion of its territory Akbar's expansion in the direction of Gujarat, which he coveted, was an impossibility. And finally, it became necessary for Akbar to move against Udai Singh, as Abul Fazl[34] says, because Sakti Singh, the second son of the Rana, then in attendance at Akbar's court, had fled to Chitor from Dholpur in Sep. 1567 A.D. without leave on a jestful remark of Akbar and reported to his father that Akbar was making preparations for the invasion of his country. In that age of chivalry it was necessary that Akbar should show that he was not merely joking, specially when several weighty reasons existed in favour of an expedition to Chitor. It should not be forgotten that the Rana and Akbar were hereditary adversaries and the father of the reigning Sisodia chief and the grandfather of the Mughal emperor had engaged in deadly conflict for the supremacy in the country only about forty years before. Akbar was more ambitious than Babur and his interest lay in India. Hence it was inevitable for him to come into clash with the first Rajput chief in the country.

Udai Singh who had already been informed of Akbar's intention by Sakti Singh and who was fully alive to the approaching danger lost no time in calling a council[35] of his

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33 Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 283 ; Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 102 ; MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 22 (b).

34 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 380 ; (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, pp. 422-443 ; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 225 ; MS. *Davavet Udai Singhjiri*, f. 3.

35 MS. *Davavet Udai Singhjiri*, ff. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 74-75 gives the names of the chiefs of Mewar who were



Jaimal

'Umraos', chief Sardars. merchants and leading citizens of the town to decide how to defend the homes and hearths in that critical moment. After considering and discussing several personal and public aspects of the problem it was decided that Udai Singh should retire to the defiles of western Mewar. It was a startling suggestion, and was naturally not at first welcomed by Udai Singh. But he bowed down to the inevitable. When the general assembly made a decision, he could not overrule it. The moment was one of great gravity and required to be met with calmness, firmness, and complete unanimity. Any difference of opinion would lead to serious calamities. It was of urgent necessity to present a united front to the enemy from the fort as well as outside it.

Thus forced by political and traditional bindings the Rana left[36] the fort, secure in its insularity of deep valleys and steep ascents, re-inforced by 7,000 or 8,000[37] brave Rajputs under the able command of Jaimal and Patta. Before leaving the fort he had strengthened it with ample provision,[38] of food and materials of

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present there in the meeting. They were : Jagmal Vikram Devot, Rawat Saindas Chundawat, Isardas Chauhan, Rao Ballu Solanki, Rao Sangram Singh, Rao Sahib Khan, Rawat Patta, Rawat Nait Singh, Prince Pratap and Sakti Singh.

36 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 395 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 283 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, p. 170 ; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 103.

37 Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per Text), p. 283 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, pp. 170 ; *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, (Per. Text), p. 257.

Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnama* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 395 gives 5000. This number is followed by *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 226.

MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f 25 (a), gives 12,000, a number which is too big to believe.

38 Out of other provisions salt was stored. In one of the cellar of the ruined palace of Chitor there is still a great quantity of salt which the tradition ascribes to Rana Udai Singh's time. With the permission of the Dy. Collector I had an access to the cellar and obtained a big crust of salt which still lies in my possession.

war and devastated the surrounding country so that even grass might not be procured by the invading enemies.[39] One thousand musketeers who were called from Kalpi were also kept ready to discharge fire on the assailants.[40]

But this act of the Rana has made Smith (*Akbar*, p. 85), Tod (*Annals*, Vol. I, p. 372), K. Das (Vol. III, p. 86), Ojha (*Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I. p. 422) and S. R. Sharma (*Pratap*, p. 12) to condemn him as coward, unheroic and unpatriotic. But the censure of these writers is unmerited. No contemporary Muslim historian denounces his act. Udai Singh cannot be denounced a coward as his wars with Vanbir, Haji Khan and Rathors, referred to above, show his qualities as a soldier. The misplaced severity of history cannot deny him his valour as a soldier, or even his ability as an experienced general. In obeying the council, he exhibited good sense and loyalty to the feudal order, and in leaving the fort he had shown a new line of military action. But unfortunately, posterity, aware of the heroic struggle of Pratap and Ṣanga, condemned him without making an adequate allowance for the circumstances. It was his ill-luck that he came in between these two heroic personalities of the history of Mewar whose valour and achievements have dwarfed his personality. We should rather praise his sense of action which, though greatly jeopardising his personal reputation, was in the best interests of his country.

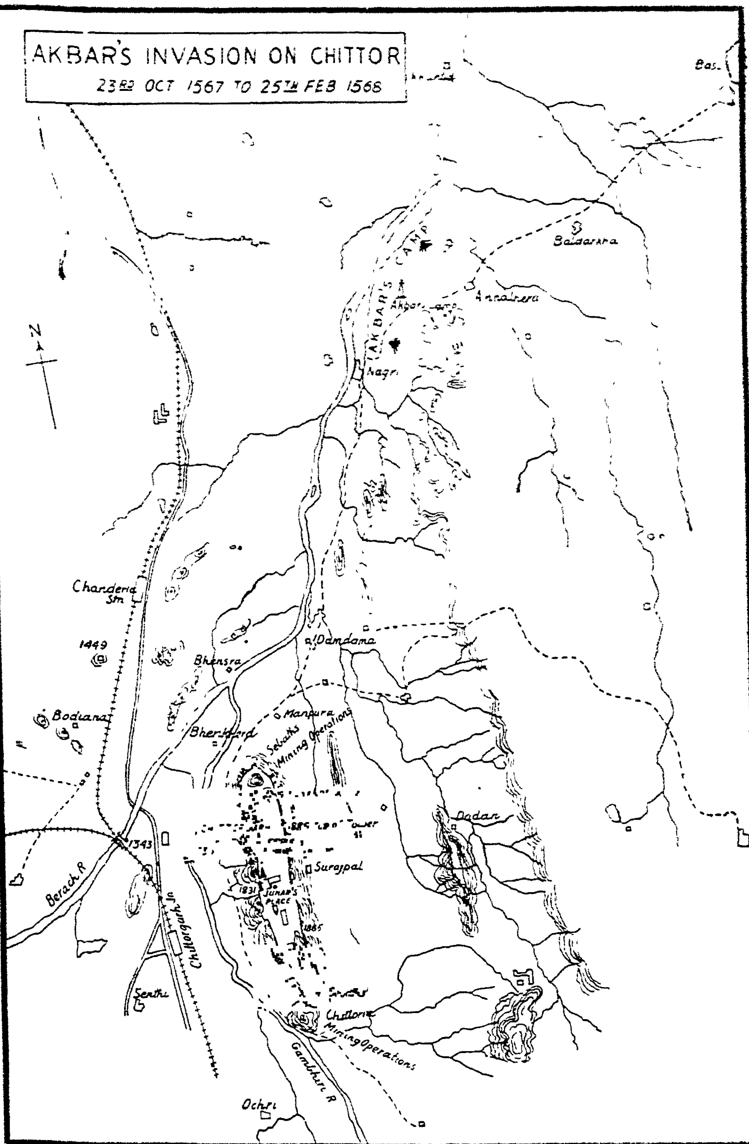
In the meantime Akbar reached Chitor on the 23rd October, 1567[41] A.D. with a huge army to lay siege to the historic fort,

Similarly as regards the provision of war large numbers of stone-balls each weighing not less than a md. were kept ready on the walls of the fort to be rolled down or to be discharged from catapults. Recently I have picked up a few stone-Malls from the fort and have preserved them in Maharana College, Udaipur by the orders of the Rajasthan Govt.

39 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 395 : 'Virankar ta ainake giyaha dar sera namand' ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 226 ; MS. *Amarakavya Vanshavali*, f. 36 (a).

40 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 408 ; *Iqbalnama* (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 226-230.

41 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 395.



AKBAR'S INVASION ON CHITTOR
23RD OCT 1567 TO 25TH FEB 1568
AKBAR'S CAMP
Baldarkha
Annalnera
Nagri
Chanderia Stn
1449
Bhensra
Damdama
Bodiana
Manpura
Bherugard
Sabaths
Mining Operations
1343
Berach R
Surajpal
1831
1885
Chittorgarh Jn
Senthi
Chittor
Mining Operations
Gambhiri R
Ochri
Dadan
N

picturesque in situation, firmly built, and seated on the bank of the Gambhiri. He chose a strategical site for encampment in the wide plain[42] on the north-east of the fort extending for several miles between the villages[43] Pandoli, Kabara and Nagari with thick forest on three sides and a river on the west.

Having secured his position he had the base of the fort surveyed and then posted capable generals on different points in order to encircle it.[44] At the same time a device to capture the Rana was made and Husain Quli Khan was appointed for the purpose.[45] He rambled in vain in the vicinity of Udaipur and Kumbhalgarh but no trace of the Rana was found as, according to local annalists,[46] lodging his family in the interior of the mountains of Ekling, he had been for sometime towards Piplia, a dependency of Mewar, and was changing his place of residence from Kumbhalgarh to Kelwada and Gogunda to Ubhayashwar,[47] a place in the western side of Udaipur. Finding

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42 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 396.

The central place of encampment is still marked by a column commonly called Akbar's lamp and locally called 'Ubhdivat'. It is of immense blocks of campact white stone ; closely fitted to each other with its height thirty feet, the base twelve feet square and summit four feet. It has a staircase inside and there are seven openings in it to admit light. It appears that it was originally a seat of Garuda in the huge temple of Vishnu in Nagari in the locality of Hativada where similar pieces of blocks of stones are still lying.

43 MS. *Sisod Vanshavali.* f. 22 (b).

44 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 396 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali,* f. 36 (b).

45 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 396-397 ; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* (Per. Text), p. 283 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi,* Vol. V, p. 171 ; *Iqbalnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 226.

46 MS. *Sisod Vanshavali,* f. 23 (a) ; MS. *Suryavansh,* f. 52 (a).

47 *Iqbalnama,* (Per. Text), Vol II, p. 226 ; *Muntakhab* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 103.

Just on the summit of a mountain there stands in Ubhayashwar the palace of Udai Singh in a dilapidated condition. Local tradition ascribes it to the Rana who lived here during the days of his wandering when Chitor was besieged.

no trace of the Rana the Mughal general had to come empty-handed.[48] Meanwhile the siege of Chitor continued leisurely. In spite of all the attempts the besiegers could produce little impression on the Rajputs.[49]

Finding the attempts to capture the fort by assault useless, three principal batteries[50] were erected and mines were constructed to create gaps in its walls. The first battery was set up just opposite the Lakhota Gate in the northern side of the fort under the charge of Hasan Khan Chaghatai, Rai Pattar Das, Qazi Ali, Ikhtiyar Khan Faujdar and Kabir Khan. The second battery was located opposite Suraj Pol in the east under the command of Shujat Khan, Raja Todarmal and Qasim Khan. The third one was erected in the south at Chittori Burj under Khvaja Abdul Mazid and Wazir Khan. In the meantime Sabats*

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48 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 397 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 283 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. Vol. V, p. 171.

49 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 397.

50 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 398 ; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 283.

* Different writers have given different accounts as regards Sabats. Elphinstone (*History of India*, pp. 505, 507) says that "they were zig-zags protected by gabions and by earth thrown from the trench." He further says that "his trenches are minutely described by Firishta, and closely resemble those of modern Europe."

Firishta mentions them as follows (*Briggs*, Vol. II, p. 230): "The Sabats are constructed in the following manner. The zig-zags commencing at gunshot distance from the fort consist of a double wall, and by means of blind or stuff covered with leather the besiegers continue their approach till they arrive near to the walls of the palace to be attacked " The account of Sabats given by Firishta does not suggest that they were like trenches of Europe as concluded by Elphinstone. Nizamuddin in *Tabaqat* (p. 344) says, "Sabat is a word used to express two walls, the foundations of which are laid at a distance of about one musket-shot (from the fort), and under the protection of planks, which are fastened together by raw hides and are made strong, and forming something like a lane, are carried to the walls of the fort, and from there all walls of the fort are

r covered ways were built for the safe passage and

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demolished by cannon balls. Brave young warriors entered the fort by means of the trenches thus made. The sabat which had been carried forward from the royal battery had such a breadth that ten horsemen could ride abreast inside it ; and it was so high that a man mounted on an elephant and with a spear in his hand could pass inside it." Irvine, in his learned work on the Army of the Indian Mughals, page 276, considers a sabat to be mainly a trench.

Abul Fazl has not given greater details of Sabats. He says "on the two sides they produced a broad, mud-wall such that balls could not penetrate it, and it was sinuous in shape." (*Akbarnama*. Vol. II, p. 468.)

The conclusion drawn by Beveridge in the footnote of *Akbarnama*, Vol II, p. 468 is worth quoting :

"From the account of the Sabat given by the contemporary writers it appears that there was not much excavation of the ground and that the Sabat was mainly a covered way above the surface of the ground. It had earthen walls on each side and a roof of planks, etc. which was strong enough to carry a sentry, a box or other house from which a man could fire."

Kaviraj Shyamal Das in his *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 76 calls Sabats as 'Pechdar Chhatta' and says that there were holes in the walls to fire at the enemy.

Elliot, (*Tarikh i-Alfi*, Vol. V, p. 171), gives the description of Sabat as :

"A Sabat is a broad (covered) way, under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress secure from the fire of guns and muskets."

No local annalist has attempted to explain what the Sabats were like. Only MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 36 (a) gives its description which means that the Sabats were walls built by local masons with the help of mud and wood. They were of immense length

Thus Sabats are not trenches but covered passes defended by walls on both the sides. They cannot be trenches as it is evident from the rocky nature of the ground which would be an act of impossibility for the sappers. As regards the wall it appears that they were prepared by 'Rudda system' in which the local masons are expert. It is a simple method of raising walls of mud, mixing small pebbles with it. The wall is hardened by continued thrashing and

advance of the miners.[51] For this erection work nearly five thousand workers were employed and nearly more than one hundred out of them were daily killed in the course of their work by the shots of the Rajputs.[52] When these preparations of a preliminary nature were ready two mines[53] on the northern side of the fort were filled with 120 and 80 md. of gun-powder respectively and were set fire to hurl down two bastions on both the sides of Lakhota Gate. But unfortunately they did not catch fire at the right moment owing to the shortness of match in the shorter mine. Only the first one took fire on the 17th of Dec., 1567 and when the invaders rushed to enter the fort the second mine also took fire and brought devastation to the rushing friends and defending foe alike.[54] A shower of heads, limbs, mutilated trunks, the mingled remains of hundreds of human beings,[55] fell on ground. The noise of explo-

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hammering. It becomes so strong that it can bear any sort of weight or weather.

51 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 398; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 283; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, p. 171; *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, (Per. Text), p. 257; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 227; MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f 23 (a)

52 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 283; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol V, pp 171-172.

53 *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 399; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p 103; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 283; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, p. 172.

54 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 400; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 284; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, p. 172; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 227; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 37 (a).

55 As regards the loss of life by the accident authorities vary. *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 400, gives 200 of the victorious troops. Nizamuddin in his *Tabaqat*, (Per. Text), p. 284, gives 500. This view is also supported by Firishta (Per. Text, p. 258).

As for the loss of the Rajputs also these authorities differ. *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 400, gives 40; *Tabaqat* of Nizamuddin, (Per. Text), p. 284, has vaguely stated, 'of the heathens also multitude perished.'



Fort of Chittor

sion resounded in the ether all around for several miles.[56] The ramparts and walls were shattered at many places, but men in the fort worked day and night and repaired the breaches as fast as they were made.[57]

The Mughals could make no great headway in their attacks by mining operations and battery charges due to the strong defence and natural strength of the fort, yet they did not lose heart and continued steadily with the siege.[58] For four months[59] the little garrison held the Mughal host at bay and checked their advance by swords, spears, stones and catapults.[60] However, suddenly the tide of the battle turned in the midst of tremendous efforts and reckless bravery. Jaimal, the spirit of the Rajput defence and the mainstay of their hope, while supervising the breaches of the walls near Lakhota Gate was shot dead by a stray bullet from Akbar's gun.[61] With his death matters threatened

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56 Abul Fazl's statement, 'the noise of explosion reached to fifty kos', 'pinjah kàrva', is an exaggeration [vide Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 400]. *Iqbal-nama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 227 also mentions '50 kos', 'pinjah karva bestar rasid'. The author of *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 37 (a) is moderate in his expression by limiting it to '5 kos', equivalent to 10 miles of our days.

"शब्दो महानेव बभूव पंच क्रोशाविधि (वधि) स्थायि जनेः श्रुतश्व"

57 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 401 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 284 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali,* f. 37 (b).

58 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 401.

59 Badaoni : *Muntakhab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 104.

60 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 38 (b) :

'ततः शरैः कुंतवरैः कृपाग मंह गुटी यंत्र गणैश्व संख्ये
विखंडिता दुर्ग भटेः स्व दुर्गे दिल्लीस वीरा बहुशो निपेतुः'

61 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 401-402 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat*, (Per. Text), p. 284 ; Badaoni : *Muntakhab* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 103 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, p. 173.

Ojha in his *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 415-416 holds that Jaimal died next morning and fell a soldier's death at a place between Hanuman Pol and Bhairo Pol. No other Rajput source mentions that he died at the spot

to come to a close. The fame and fortune of Chitor were at that moment under a cloud. The occurrence had made it evident to the Rajputs that the destruction of the fort and the devastation of their garrison were imminent. Instantly the defenders withdrew into the heart of the fort and chose Patta[62] as their next leader to guide them in the action. In order to deliver their wives and children from the enemies they made them embrace fire. Speechless nurslings and infants embraced the burning fire in the arms of numberless patriotic Rajputnis, headed by the family of Jaimal and Patta, decked in all glory. Accompanied by strains of music and prayer they ascended the pyre with serene assurance. Matrons and virgins engaged themselves in this awe-inspiring self-immolation called 'Jauhar'[63] with a courage and self-possession that makes us

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given by Ojha. MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 37 (b), clearly states that Jaimal died at the spot by a hit of Akbar's gun and as such the view of Muslim historians in comparison to Ojha's view holds the ground. The MS. referred to above says :

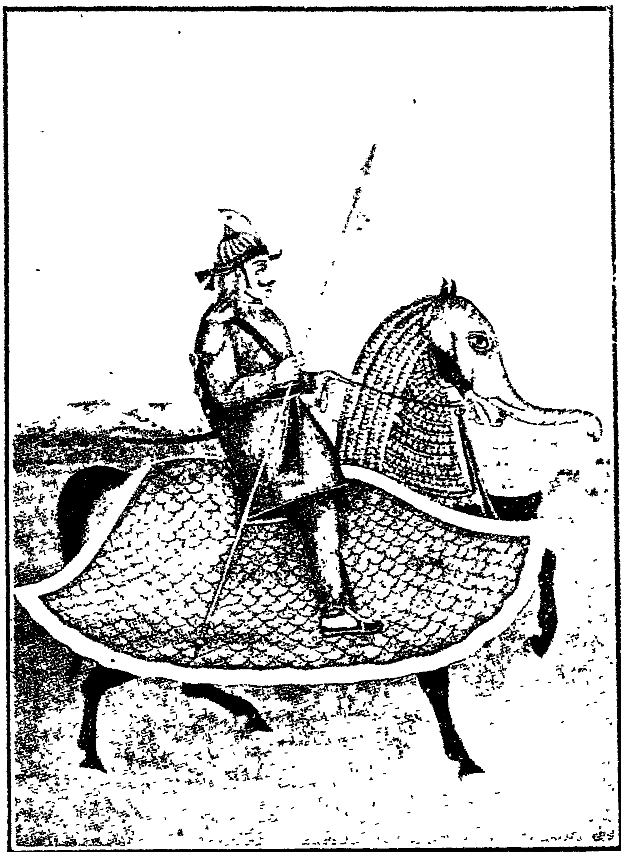
'दिल्लीस संयुक्त गुटी प्र...त् श्री जैमलाख्य रवि मंडलं महत्
विभिद्य पाते त्रि दिवं हि तस्य वा श्रंतः पुरे ज्वालित एव तद् भटैः'

62 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 31(a).

63 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 404; Badaoni : *Muntakhab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 104 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 284 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, pp. 173-174 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text) Vol. II, pp. 228-229 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 37 (b).

According to MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 72(b) ; MS. *Vanshavali Adi Param Shivthi*, f. 66 (b) and MS. *Suryavansh*, f. 55 (b), the noted Rajputnis who committed 'Jauhar' were the mother and the nine wives of Patta, and his five daughters and two sons. The names of his mother and wives are as follows : Sajjan Bai Sonagri (Patta's mother), Jiva Bai Solanki, Madalcha Bai, Sarda Bai Rathor, Jhalia Padmavati, Ratan Bai Rathor, Bhagwati Chauhan, Bagadi Chauhan and Ashia Bai Parmar (his wives).

It is very often questioned as to where the 'Jauhar' was performed. Several folk-lores ascribe its occurrence in the fort caves. But this is open to doubt, because there is not a single cave of this dimension in the fort which



Patta

wonder. Conscious pride had taught them to suppress every tender emotion that stood in the way of honour and chastity.

When the matrons and children were engaged in this great sacrifice, all men who were fit to bear arms became ready to stake their all for a final attempt. Cries of 'Har-Har-Mahadeo', the sounds of cymbals, the thumping of terrible drums, shrieks and screams of barbaric horns resounded the atmosphere. The fort wore the face of stern preparedness which in itself must have daunted the enemy. At daybreak of the desperate day of the 13th of the dark-half of Chaitra, V.S. 1624 (25th Feb. 1568 A.D.) the whole fort was on arms and its gates thrown open by the death defying inmates. In spite of the tremendous attempts made by the courageous Rajputs the enemies made successful rush from the gates. Between Hanuman Pol and Bhairo Pol there was a fierce fight and Kalla, the notable hero of the Rajputs, met a heroic death.[64]

Then followed the pouring of the Mughal soldiers who rushed to all sides of the fort with sword and fire. Simultaneously a batch of fifty and then of three hundred elephants were sent

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could have easily been used for the purpose. One cave in Khumbha's palace is pointed out as the place of 'Jauhar'. But a close examination of it has proved that it is merely an inner passage leading to Gaumukh reservoir. Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 404, mentions that there was Jauhar-fire in the houses of Patta, Sahib Khan Chauhan and Isar Das. This indicates that it was celebrated between Samidheswar temple and Bhimlat where the mansions of these chiefs are said to have existed. Several fragmentary pieces of Sati slabs, 'Vir Stambhas' and dilapidated platforms in this area suggest its celebration in this open ground. One 'Vir Stambha' and a 'Sati Stambha' which I have recently discovered from this area have been preserved by me in Maharana College, Udaipur by the orders of the Rajasthan Government.

In the recent process of cleaning (by the Archaeological Department, Government of India) the area near Samidheswar has yielded human skull, bones and ashes which further supports my view.

64 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 405 ; *Vir Vinod,* Vol. II, pp. 80-81.

with swords in their trunks, the most important of them were Madhukar, Jangiya, Sabdaliya and Kadira who trampled many a warrior to death. Madhukar who was sent inside the fort was seen by Isar Das. He took hold of his tusk and struck a dagger and said, "Be good enough to convey my respects to the world-adoring appreciator of merit." Jangiya killed forty-five of the enemies and Sabdaliya trampled several of the heroes. During the course of this action the emperor riding on an elephant himself was making a round of the fort with his followers. As he reached the temple of Kumbha Shyam Patta's body which was trampled under foot of an elephant was presented before him in half-gasping state who after a short while breathed his last then and there.[65]

Towards the end of the sack, another terrible misfortune descended upon the fort. A population of 30,000 inside the fort, mostly civilian who had taken little part in the actual struggle, was put to sword[66] by the orders of the emperor in a kind of frenzy of victorious aggressiveness. The tide of the battle followed hither and thither, through every street, lane and temple. The ill-armed inhabitants faced their enemy, but could do nothing against the superior strength of the enemies. The horrors continued till afternoon, scarcely any life remained in the miserable fort. The fort which once glowed with wealth and splendour, was changed to a charned house with smoke and spinel. The Mughal fury was the fire which consumed them to ashes.

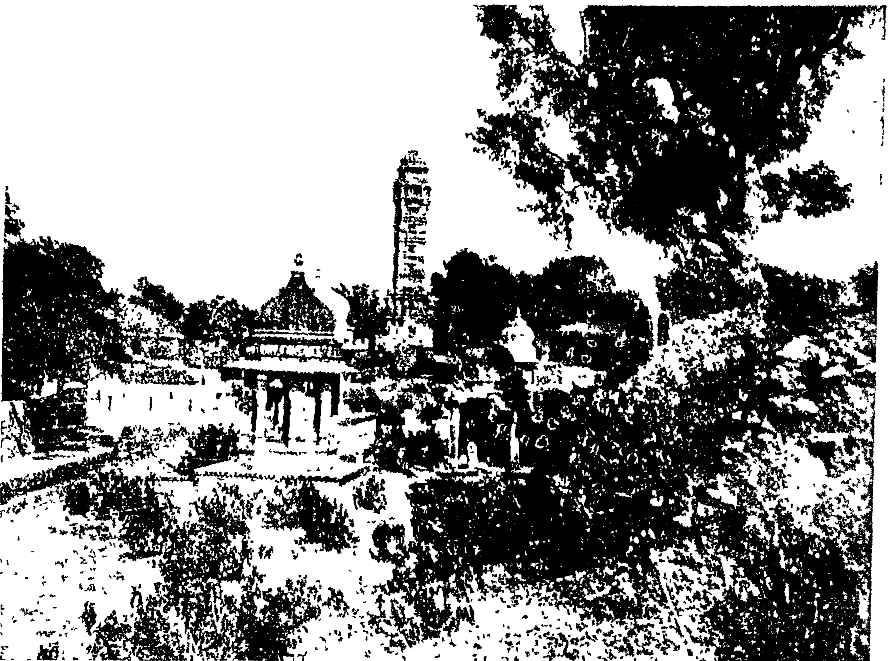
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[65] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 406-407 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, p. 174 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 38 (a) (b).

Amarkavya records other details, f. 39 (a), but does not make mention of Patta's presentation before Akbar. It simply refers to his death in this last phase of the siege of the fort.

[66] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text,) Vol. II, p. 407 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 284 ; Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 104 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, p. 174 ; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 229 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 39 (a).

'त्रिशत् सहस्र प्रमितास्तु योधा दिल्लीपतेः प्रोद्दर युद्ध योधाः'



A general view where the Jauhor was committed

Ruins of demolished temples, towers, hearths and huts of Chitor which remain even to this day have preserved the memory of the horror inflicted on this occasion, though innumerable monuments have sunk into oblivion. But never was there a more monstrous massacre in the blood-stained history of Mewar. How far was Akbar justified in this senseless shedding of blood is for the posterity to decide. The manner in which innocent and illustrious Rajputs were sacrificed at the altar of this inhuman cruelty, excites in our breasts the most lively sensation of terror and pity. This immense slaughter has left a deep stain on the memory and character of the emperor who scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. The triumph of the Great Mughal was indeed sullied by this act of disgraceful cruelty, which was a grave violation of the laws of humanity and justice.

Akbar occupied the fort on the 25th Feb., 1568 A.D. He remained in his camp for three days arranging affairs and dictating letters announcing his victory. Chitor was made a Sarkar of the Mughal dominion and put under the charge of Asaf Khan. Then the emperor moved towards his capital on the 28th Feb., 1568 A.D.[67] For some years he made no attempt to bring under his control Udaipur which was now the capital of Mewar and the interior part of the territory that still remained under the Rana.

Thus the memorable clash between the two great people—the Mughals and the Rajputs—came to a tragic close in the late autumn, leaving the surface of the fort scattered with the bones of the slain. The only worthy act of Akbar on the occasion was the erection of the statues[68] of Jaimal and Patta at the fort of

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67 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 408-409 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 284 ; Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 105 ; Elliot : *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, Vol. V, p. 174 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 230.

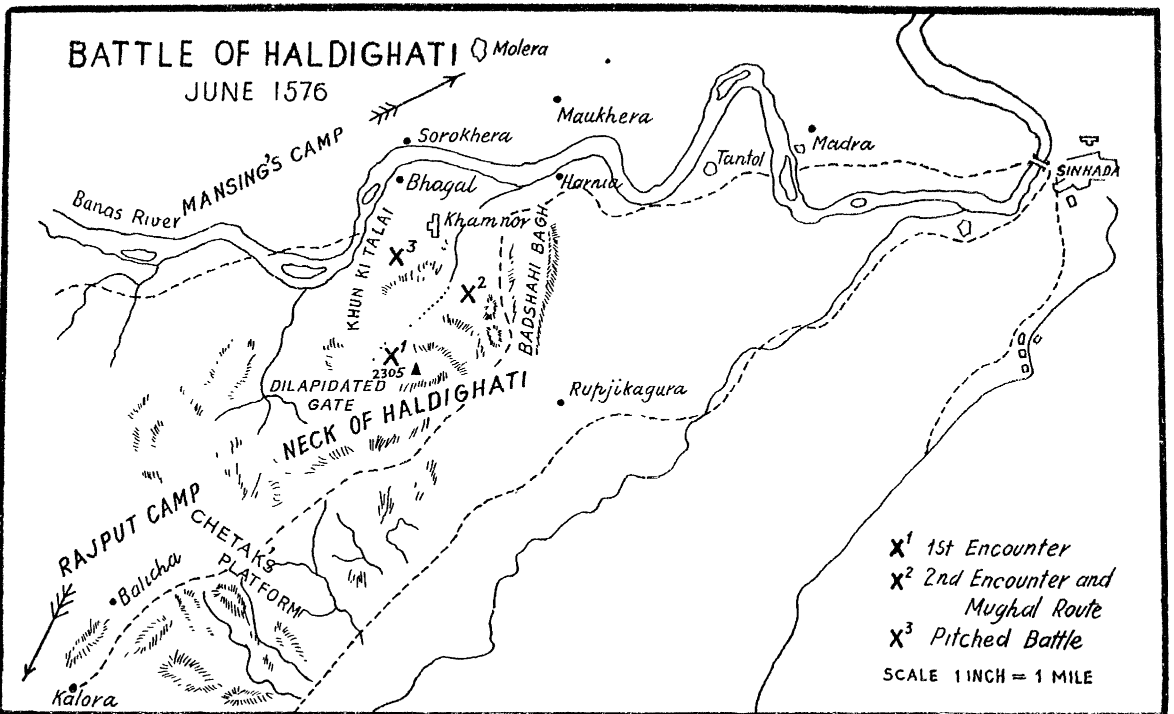
68 The earliest reference of the statues of Jaimal and Patta is found in the writings of President Van Don Broecke, written in 1629 or 1630, where he mentions that they were set up at each side of the gate of the fort of Agra (*Agra Historical and Descriptive*, p. 76). Then Bernier (vide Vol. I,

Agra, a memorable measure of the respect in which he held the daring generals of this famous sack.

Now it remains for us to judge the facts of this eventful fall of the historic fort. That the Rajput garrison fought under several handicaps, such as the smallness of their number, their crippled resources and indisciplined rank and outclassed weapons, is undeniable. The successful encircling of the fort necessarily increased the sufferings of the inhabitants and daily diminished the limited supply of food and other provisions. Jaimal's death told heavily on the morale of the Rajputs who being desperate consumed everything by fire and exposed themselves to heavy attack by opening of the gates. Moreover, the blockade of the fort made it a source of hinderance to their power instead of any help. We cannot be blind to the superior generalship, allied with tripled combination of battery charge, mining operation and erection of Sabats as a contributory element in the victory of the fort by the Mughals.

Whatever may have been the cause of the disaster sustained by the Rajputs and whatever the spirit of exhaustion felt at the occasion by them, the sack signalised a sensational step in the Rajput strategy of war. Defence was based not on forts but on valleys and defiles where the protracted and repeated attempts were foiled by a handful of men. It also revealed to the Mughals that the Rajput exhaustion was not so extreme as to make them incapable of another stand against any general national danger. Henceforth it was the defiles of Girwa and not Chitor that were to be the centre of Mughal politics during the succeeding centuries.

Irvine, p. 392) makes mentions of them in his letter of the first July 1663 as set up at the entrance of the fortress of Delhi. Smith seems to be correct in presuming (vide *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 95) that Shah Jahan, when building New Delhi, removed the statues of Jaimal and Patta from Agra.


BATTLE OF HALDIGHATI
JUNE 1576
Molera
Maukhera
Sorokhera
MANSING'S CAMP
Banas River
Bhagal
Harnia
Tantol
Madra
SINHADA
Khamnor
KHUN KI TALAI
BADSHAHI BAGH
X^3
X^2
X^1
2305
DILAPIDATED GATE
NECK OF HALDIGHATI
Rupjikagura
RAJPUT CAMP
CHETAK'S PLATFORM
Balicha
Kalora
X^1 1st Encounter
X^2 2nd Encounter and Mughal Route
X^3 Pitched Battle
SCALE 1 INCH = 1 MILE

CHAPTER V

PRATAP[1] AND AKBAR ; IMPERIALISM VERSUS LOVE OF LOCAL FREEDOM (1572—1597 A.D.)

Akbar, it is true, had succeeded in bringing Chitor under his sway and reducing the fort to a sorry plight ; the country in and around it certainly lay devastated and uncultivated, towns were either burnt or abandoned, and trade was brought to stand-still. But all these did not produce much repercussion on the prosperity of inner Mewar and prestige of the Guhilot dynasty. The age had dawned in which Mewar was to witness not a diminution but a pronounced increase of royal power and prestige of Rana's name beyond the boundaries of Mewar. Uda's son, Pratap, commonly styled by Muslim writers[2] as 'Kika'[3] whose personal appearance, early training and force of character amply attested and fulfilled the glory he was going to win, gave

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1 It is a Sanskrit word, meaning glory. He was born on the 3rd of Jaistha of V.S. 1597 (9th May, 1540 A.D.) and ruled Mewar from the 28th Feb., 1572 to 19th Jan., 1597 A.D.

2 Abul Fazl : *Abkarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 44 etc. ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat*, (Per. Text), pp. 333 etc. ; Badaoni : *Muntakhab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 230 etc. ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 272.

3 'Kika' seems to be a pet-name of the Rana given by the Bhils in whose associations his early days were spent. The Bhils of south-western Mewar usually speak Gujarati and in Gujarati Bhil dialect 'Kika' stands for a son.

shelter to the princes of Gwalior[4] and Sirohi[5] and made alliances with them and inspired them with hostility to the growing power of Akbar.

As we think of Pratap what a world of visions and memories rise before the mind. He was a great captain of war, tall, almost full and majestic figure, with a high forehead, prominent moustaches and above all striking appearance with bright eyes which seemed to indicate great fire and determination within.[6] Like his person his clothes in which it has been the delight of painters to portray him are also familiar. His closely tied turban and a long coat of yellow colour with a scarf closely tied around his waist were familiar objects to his contemporaries.[7] His character had been formed quite early in life during his wanderings in the midst of hills and forests. Adversity had taught him patience, perseverance, courage and determination. He had imbibed eternal love for his country and resolved to consider no sacrifice as too great for its defence. In short, Pratap's early environments in which he had spent his boyhood had given him a character and philosophy of life which distinguished him from other Rajput princes of his times.

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4 Gwalior was already under Mughal order when in Aug., 1567 the Raja of Gwalior had left his territory to be occupied by Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, Akbar's general. (Vide *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 97.)

5 Rising in Sirohi was subdued and rebels were punished by Akbar in 1572 A.D. on account of Khan Kalan's murder. This probably made the Rao of Sirohi to seek shelter in Pratap's territory. (*C. H. I. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 104.)

6 *Amarsar*, Canto I, vv. 60-61, f. 6 (a) :

हस्त्यैं श्व मर्त्येंदु सुशंख चक्र प्रवाल मुक्ता मणि मुख्य चिन्है: ।
स्वेसत्व मालोक्य तनौर्य दीये ऐश्वर्य मुख्यै: श्रियते गुणौघै: ॥६०॥
विशाल सुखद्वर भालमस्य प्रताप लक्ष्मैयक निवास भूमिं ।
निरीक्ष्य मिथ्या भिमतोद्धततत्वं त्यजंति चान्येषु भुवि पार्थि वौघा: ॥६१॥

7 The 'Jotdan', the private picture gallery of the Rana of Udaipur, possesses a sufficiently old picture from which the description of the Rana's attire has been borrowed. The picture may not be a contemporary one but it at least reflects the popular opinion of the Rana's dress.



Rana Pratap

Moreover, his travels and trials in the remotest part of his dominion proved a boon in securing the confidence and alliance of the wild tribes of Mewar by his chance associations with them. The Bhils became his devoted friends and followers. Their martial qualities and their fidelity to their word, their habit of climbing the hills and jumping on the thorny bushes with ease and bearing all kinds of privation, must have produced an unfailing impression upon the prince's mind. This association proved later the decisive factor in his struggle against the superior foe.

On his father's death on the 28th Feb., 1572 A.D. Pratap's claim to the throne of Mewar was contested by his younger brother Jagmal. Sakti Singh who was the second son of Udai Singh was out of question as during the life-time of his father he had left Chitor angrily and accepted a subsistence allowance from Akbar.[8] After Udai Singh's death Jagmal, the son of his father's favourite wife Rani Bhattyani, had organised a party of his own and plotted to seize the throne. But some of the nobles headed by Akhai Raj of Jhalor and Ram Prasad of Gwalior openly supported Pratap's claim and nipped the plot against him.[9] In the end he was installed on the throne of Mewar at Gogunda as Rana on the 28th Feb., 1572 A.D. Jagmal left Mewar and with the help of the governor of Ajmer obtained from Akbar Jahazpur as a Jagir. Later on in 1581 A.D. he got the share of Sirohi state by the imperial orders. Ultimately he was removed by death in 1583 A.D. when a conflict arose between

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8 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 380; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 225; MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 24(b).

9 Jagmal was actually enthroned secretly by Kishan Das of Salumbar and Sanga of Deogarh. When Akhai Raj of Jhalor, who was the Rana's maternal grandfather and, Ram Singh of Gwalior, who was living in Mewar, did not find Jagmal at the cremation ceremony of Rana Udai Singh, they straightway put the question of his absence to Kishan Das and Sanga. However, after hot discussion it was decided that the 'Gadi' should go to Pratap. As the party returned from the cremation ground Pratap was enthroned instead of Jagmal. (Vide *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 146.)

him and Rao Surtan, the nominee of his father-in-law Rao Mansingh.[10]

But the 'Gadi' that he had acquired and the territory that he inherited was not a bed of roses for the Rana. Several years of war had broken up the roads, disorganised social life and jeopardised trade and thrown all progress[11] out of gear. Chitor was already in the Mughal hands and attempts were being made to introduce order by means of measuring land, assessing revenue and dividing the Mughal possession into districts.[12] The frontier districts of Mewar like Badnor, Shahpura and Rayala were under the Mughal control. Muslim influence was increasing in these parts as religious endowments[13] were made by the emperor to the Dargah of Ajmer out of these districts.

Thus Pratap had inherited a precious dominion from his father and implacable enmity of Akbar, the mighty Mughal emperor. He rightly thought that unless he acknowledged Akbar as his suzerain he would have to fight a long and bitter war. Not being prepared to lower the prestige of his house and sink to the position of an humble vassal the only alternative before him was preparation for a deadly struggle.

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10 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 103 (b); *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 146.

11 Since the day of the invasion of Chitor by Akbar on 23rd October, 1567 A.D. to the day of Udai Singh's death in 1572 A.D. we do not come across any copper-plate, grant of note or the record of the construction of any road or building or any other work of public utility. This period, though very short, was sufficient to check all progress, economic or literary.

12 According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 286 (Jarett, Vol. II, pp. 109, 278 and 279) in the Sarkar of Chitor there were 26 mahals including Mandalgarh, Mandal, Badnor, Bagor, Shahpura etc. The whole Sarkar measured to 1,679,802 Bighas and 17 Biswas and its revenue was estimated to 30,047,649 'dams'.

13 Villages like Rayala, Katdi, Arneta and Kanya of the 'mahals' of Hurda, Shahpura and Badnor were granted on 23rd Ramzan, H. 982 to Dargah of Ajmer by Akbar (1575 A.D.). (Vide File no. 20/11, Samvat 93 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur recently discovered by me.)

In grim earnestness he set himself to the task of dealing with the situation in a bold and decisive manner. With boundless self-confidence he launched upon his preparations. He began with energy the transformation of Mewar into a union[14] with the help of nobly born lords and low-born Bhils, the equal pillars of his power. He removed his capital from Gogunda to Kelwara (Kumbhalgarh)[15] in order to keep the metropolis at a safe distance from the route of the Mughals. Then he turned his attention to fusing the old Mewar with the new. He infused courage and enthusiasm into his men and stirred them from their repose to stand shoulder to shoulder for a cause noble to the tradition of the Rajputs. He gathered round him the local tribes to follow him to the field of battle and to defend the common cause, liberty of their nation. Thus with an effort so continuous, supported by so much ability and acumen, he struck a chord that immediately echoed through the country.

Meanwhile Akbar was going ahead with the extension and consolidation of his empire. He was a statesman whose fame had grown more impressive with time and whose mind was open and accessible to original ideas and endowed with such gifts of skill, vigilance, caution and courage as were needed for the Government of a community rapidly passing into a new stage of its social growth. The secret of his success was his sympathetic attitude towards the Rajput community on whose subjugation or conciliation rested the social foundation of his empire. The talent and martial character of the class bewitched the emperor so much that he was convinced that a new India could be evolved out of a social and political synthesis sought from the intelligent and active co operation of the Rajputs and the Mughals.

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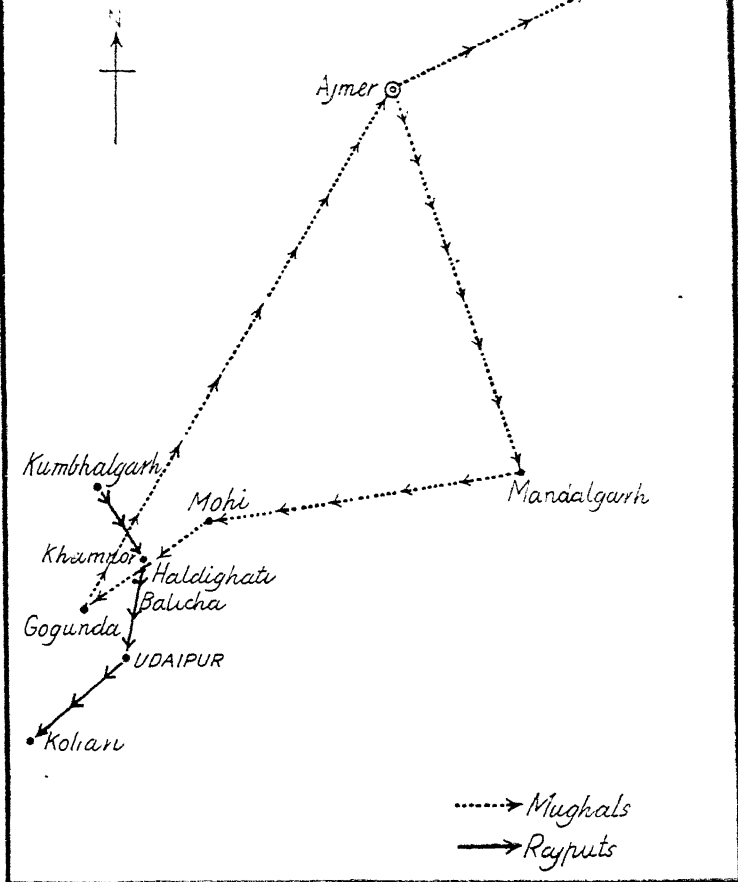
14 Pratap was the fist to recognise the worth of Bhils who were in majority living in the south-western part of Mewar. The state emblem bears testimony to this day to the equal status given to the Bhils where both Pratap and a Bhil are standing on either sides of Eklingji, the titular deity of Mewar.

15 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 228 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 146.

Besides his ideal of nationalism, the emperor's conscience had been aroused in other directions also. Akbar was throughout his political career a consistent imperialist. Pratap, on the other hand, stood for the independence of Mewar. A united empire under his (Akbar's) rule was his (Akbar's) aim and this necessarily meant the end of independence of individual Rajput states. Against this designed policy Pratap stood for the preservation of individual identity based on deep local attachments and racial memories. By joining the Mughals his state would cease to exist as a sovereign state and he would be a Mughal Jagirdar and his state a sarkar or pargana of the Mughal dominions. This would certainly do greater harm than good to his position. He valued his states more in a small, compact, racially and culturally linked unit preserving the sovereign authority as against humbling himself by sending a representative to the Mughal court, receiving instruction from Delhi and getting confirmation of hereditary rights from the emperor.

Equally revolting was the idea in Pratap's mind to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the Mughal ruling family and send a 'dola' to Akbar's harem. Should it be right on his part to give his daughter and sister to the Mughal house like his fellow Rajputs ? Or, should he resent it ? The answer to these questions he could seek from the traditional glory of his house which had ever stood for the purity of blood and sanctity of racial greatness. He would never be the first man in his house to bring a blot on it. This is why he was prepared to stake his all for maintaining the traditional purity by not offering the hands of the Rajput princess of his dynasty to an alien.

On the other hand after the siege and acquisition of Chitor Akbar seems to have deliberately refrained from taking any further steps for the conquest of the remaining parts of Mewar. There is no record to show that he sent an army to fight against Udai Singh in the hill of 'Girwa' or immediately after his death against his successor, the valiant Pratap. No doubt Akbar was engaged in bringing several other independent rulers under his control, but the main reason why he did not resume operations against Mewar seems to have been his desire to give sufficient



MANSINGH'S MARCH FROM AJMER TO HALDIGHATI
FROM 25TH APRIL 1576 TO JUNE 1576
N
Ajmer
Kumbhalgarh
Mohi
Mandalgarh
Khamnor
Haldighati
Balicha
Gogunda
UDAIPUR
Kolian
Mughals
Rajputs

time to its ruler to consider whether a policy of friendly alliance with Delhi would not be in his interest. All other chiefs of Rajasthan without exception had meanwhile submitted to the emperor and Pratap alone had kept himself aloof in defiance of the friendly gesture from the emperor. Akbar's desire to settle the Mewar problem by peaceful negotiations is attested by the fact that he had not only refrained from resuming hostilities but had despatched three missions (Jun.--Dec. 1573) to Pratap's court to sound him as to his intentions.

In accordance with his desire Man Singh of Amber while returning from an expedition to Dungarpur and Salumber proceeded to Udaipur and interviewed Pratap about June, 1573 A.D. in order to persuade him to recognise Akbar as his suzerain and enter into a friendly alliance with him. Pratap welcomed the guest but refused to recognise the emperor as his sovereign or to accompany Man Singh to the imperial court[16]. Two other missions followed during the course of Oct. 1573 A.D. and Dec.

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16 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 14 ; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text) Vol. II, p. 262 ; Beveridge : *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 87.

Abul Fazl and Mutimid Khan further add that the Rana put on the royal Khilat but proceeded to make excuses (about going to court).

The Rajput accounts of this interview have been differently given from the records of Abul Fazl. MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, ff. 41 (a) (b), 42 (a) (b) ; MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, ff. 34 (b), 35 (a)(b) and MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, ff. 103 (a) (b), 104 (a) (b), 105 (a) (b) and 106 (a) give at length the story of the meeting which may be summarised as follows :

The Rana arranged a feast to be held in honour of Kr. Man Singh on the bank of the Udai Sagar lake. When it was the time for partaking the feast Kunwar Amar Singh represented the Rana. The Kachhwaha Chief asked about the Rana and was informed that he had some indisposition of the stomach. Kr. Man Singh was intelligent to understand the cause of the Rana's absence and left the feast, feeling rather insulted. When he was leaving a further retort was given by the Rana that he should not come all alone but with his 'Phupha' Akbar. After his departure purification of the utensils, dishes and site of the feast was

1573 A.D. headed by Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber and Raja Todar Mal, the Dewan of Gujarat, respectively. Pratap received both the imperial officers with courtesy and consideration. But as usual he refused to fall in with other Rajput chiefs and pay homage to Akbar.[17]

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made to wash away the sin of the touch of these objects by one who had given his aunt to the emperor.

This story has no tinge of truth about it. The simple fact of an interview and Rana's objection of going to the court has been coloured by bardic imagination. All these details seem to have been invented at later period. Even *Rajpiashasti* does not give so much of the fabricated facts. In Canto 4, verse 21, of *Rajprashasti* there is a simple hint that at the time of dinner there was some cause of ill-feeling between Man Singh and the Rana :

मानसिंहेन तस्यासी द्वैमनस्यं भुजे दिजों ।

The same version has been recorded in two words by Nensi (vide Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 2 (a) :

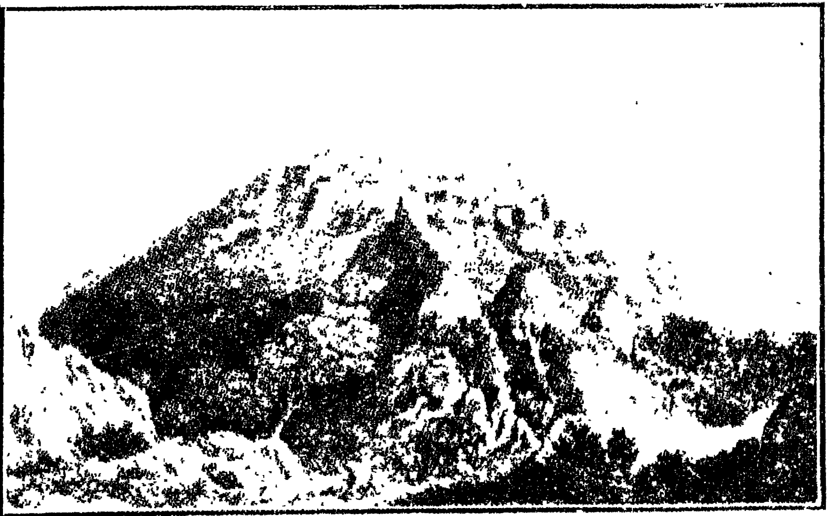
'जीमण पगा विरस हुओ'

Perhaps on this simple indication the posterior writers have built up a legendary tale. Jagannath Rai *Prashasti* a work earlier than the works referred to above, makes no mention of such a feast. Out so of many Khyats and Vanshavalis only one MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat* records this event which is not reliable.

MS. *Raj Ratankar*, *Amarkavya* and *Rajprashasti* which give the account of the interview in a different manner also make no mention of Udaisagar as a place where the interview is said to have been held. *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text) Vol. III, p. 14) and *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text, Vol. II, p. 262) clearly state that the Rana brought Man Singh to his house as his guest. Hence the interview was Rajput-like and was held at Gogunda as evidenced by contemporary records.

17 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 41-44 ; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 262 ; 272.

As regards the second mission sent to Mewar Abul Fazl adds that the Rana sent a petition along with his son Amar Singh begging to be excused from his personal attendance to the Mughal court. This statement seems to be erroneous. For if the Rana had sent his crown prince and a petition of submission with a Mughal officer there seems to be no reason why Akbar should not have accepted it.



The fort of Kumbhal Garh

The failure of these three missions must have convinced Akbar that a peaceful solution of Mewar's problem, vis-a-vis the Mughal ruling family and the empire which had by this time the friendly support of almost all Hindu rulers and had embraced practically the whole of northern India except Orissa and Kashmir, was an impossibility, at least as long as that state continued to be ruled by Pratap. Hence he decided on war.

It may be said in favour of Pratap that he was a soldier of liberty and was not prepared to surrender. His ambition on which he had set his heart was to retain his independence intact. He considered no sacrifice in the upholding of this cause as too great for him. He spurned comfort and prepared himself for e worst kind of suffering and even to expose his person and at of his family to danger. He was aware of the consequences of his refusal to abide by Akbar's wishes and, therefore, made whatever preparation was possible to meet the impending danger. Among other measures of defence one was the stationing of three hundred horse at the entrance of Haldi Ghati for which purpose a grant[18] of the village 'Dhol' in Kumbhalgarh distict was granted to a cavalry leader Joshi Puno on the 15th of the bright-half of Kartik V.S. 1631 (29th Oct., 1574 A.D.). Another drastic measure that was adopted by Pratap to meet the impending danger was the devastation[19] of the plains of central Mewar and transfer of its civil population to Kumbhalgarh and Kelwara in order to make the means of communication and the supply of food and fodder to the enemy's army difficult between the newly established Mughal Sarkar in Mewar and the inner Girwa. In the meantime he must have summoned to duty all the trusted nobles and daring Bhils to avert the coming catastrophe of Mewar.

In the meantime, Akbar having freed himself from the arrangements of the Bengal expedition (1574 A.D.)[20] and the

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[18] Dhol-grant, (Copper-plate inscription), No. 214, recently discovered by me in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.
[19] MS. *Suryavansh*, f. 19 (a); MS. *Vanshavali Ranaijni*, f. 68 (a).
[20] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 112.

quelling of the troubles of Chandersen of Jodhpur (1575)[21] went to Ajmer on the 18th of March, 1576 and began deliberating on the plan of action to be taken against the Rana.[22] At last the emperor entrusted the charge of proceeding against Pratap to Kunwar Man Singh.[23] Accordingly on the 3rd April, 1576 A.D. the Kunwar left Ajmer being accompanied by capable warriors like Asaf Khan, Mehtar Khan, Sayyid Ahmad, Sayyid Hashim Berha, Raja Jagan Nath Kachhwaha (Man Singh's uncle), Rai Lon

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[21] Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (Per. Text) Vol. II, p. 228 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 332.

[22] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 146 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbainama* (MS.), f. 93 (a) ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333 ; MS. Muhanot Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 11 (b) ; MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 107 (a).

[23] The reasons for Man Singh's selection as a commander of imperial army have been given by Abul Fazl (vide *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 146) as follows :

"Kr. Man Singh who was among the first in the court for wisdom, loyalty and bravery, and who, among other favours, had been granted the lofty title of Farzand (son), was nominated for service."

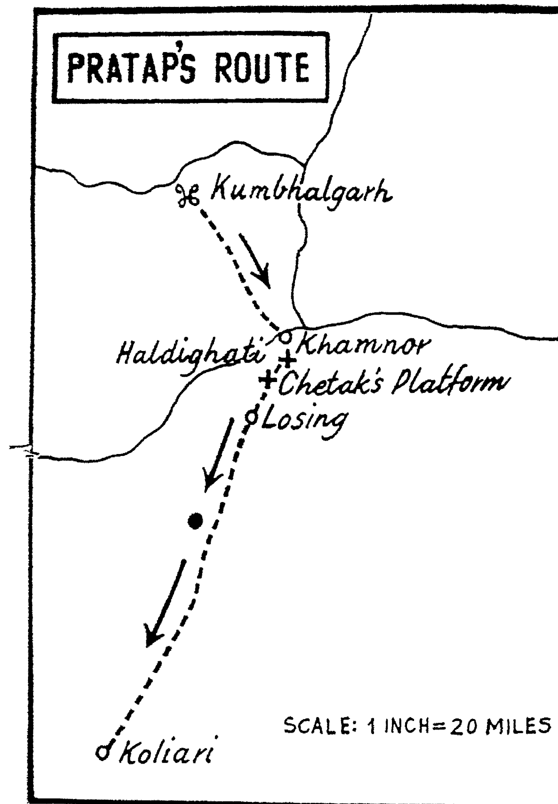
Nizamuddin (vide *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Per. Text), p. 332) also gives the same reasons as follows :

"Man Singh was distinguished with the attributes of courage and manliness, and the qualities of high spirits and wisdom."

However, some of the Mohammedan officers in the army resented the appointment of Man Singh as the General-in-Command, because he was a Hindu (Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 228).

Iqbalnama, (Per. Text, Vol. II, p. 303) states that Man Singh was selected as he belonged to Rana's class : 'Tabei ain Khiraj gujara', and the former's forefathers had been in the service of the Ranas and as such out of shame he may come to open conflict.

The alleged appointment of Salim (Tod, Vol. I, p. 393) as the general of Mewar's army is baseless. In the first place he was only six years of age at that time and secondly neither Rajput nor Muslim sources mention Salim's appointment as a General of the Mughal army. (Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol I, p. 429.)


PRATAP'S ROUTE
Kumbhalgarh
Haldighati
Khamnor
Chetak's Platform
Losing
Koliari
SCALE: 1 INCH=20 MILES

Karan and others.[24] The imperial army arrived at Mandalgarh[25] by regular marches. For some days the Rajput Commander of the Mughal forces had to wait there for the additional contingent[26] that had to join him and probably to establish a line of communication through the devastated territory of the Rana and the imperial out-posts. In staying at Mandalgarh for about two months (from about middle of April to the middle of June) Man Singh might have been giving time to the Rajputs to grow impatient and open an offensive with the Mughals there which might prove advantageous to the imperial interest.

But the Rana who was determined to meet the imperial forces in the heart of the defiles of 'Girwa' moved from Kumbhalgarh and encamped at Lohsingh,[27] a small village eight miles west of the neck of Haldi Ghati, the Thermopylae of Mewar, where the Kumbhalgarh range has contracted itself into a pass.

Man Singh on his part left Mandalgarh and probably taking the usual route through the plain arrived near Khamnor and encamped in the town of Molela,[28] on the other bank of the river Banas which runs down from the western mountains to Chambal. Thus between the two hostile camps there distance of about 10 miles.

The position chosen by the Rana as against that of Man

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24 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 230-231 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (MS.) f. 98 (g) ; and (Per. Text), Vol III, p. 146 ; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* (Per. Text), p. 332.

25 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 230; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* (Per. Text), p. 332. Mandalgarh is about seventy miles from Ajmer.

26 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (MS.), f. 98 (b) ; and (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 151.

27 MS. Nensi's *Khyat,* f. 11 (b).

28 *Ibid.*

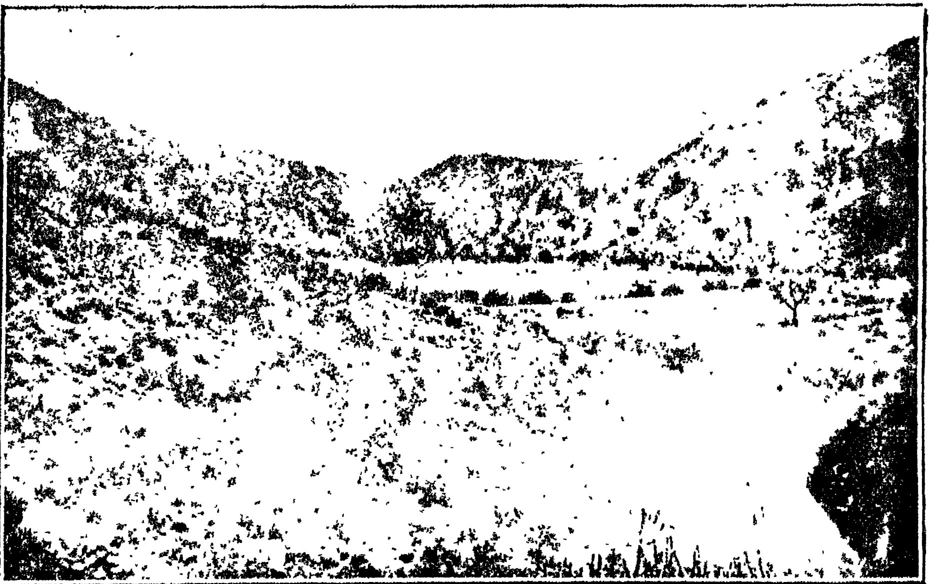
Professor Sri Ram (*Pratap,* p. 68) is not correct in writing this village as Majera. My MS. has clearly given Molela. The published text (vide Nensi's *Khyat,* Nagari Pracharini p. 68) also gives Molela. There is no village of Mojera in the vicinity of Khamnor while Molela is a village on the banks of Banas just two miles from Khamnor.

Singh was a strategical one and as such had a great advantage over his enemy. The spot where the Rana's forces were stationed was so guarded that it could be reached only by one man after another traversing a narrow and rugged path of about a mile and a half. A horse could with difficulty be led up ; two men could hardly walk abreast and, in some places the way ran so close to the precipice that the traveller had great need of steady eye and foot. Moreover, the whole valley was so enclosed by the ramparts of nature that the assailing troops could not find any way out of it when they had once entered it. Only a few bow-men guarding the neck of the Ghati could check the rush of hundreds of men. A small body of firm warriors could successfully defend it against a large body of soldiers. In case of any disastrous undertaking, the native militia could hide in the neighbouring mountains and forests where pursuit was not free from danger or loss of way or loss of life for enemies who were foreigners in the land and who were accustomed to fight in open fields. The local recruits could withstand the enemy for a long period keeping themselves on forest growth while the assailing army would starve to death if the provision ran short.

When the Rana was informed by his scouts,[29] namely Duras Purabia and Neta Sisodia, that the enemies had encamped near the bank of the Banas he too arrayed his army just beyond the neck of the pass. He had an army consisting of 3,000 horse,[30] 2,000 foot-men,[31] one hundred elephants[32] and one hundred pick-men, drummers and trumpeters.[33] He divided his force into the traditional order[34] of Harawal (van), Chandawal (rear), Vam

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29 MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 11(b).
30 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 231.
31 MS. *Suryavansh*, f. 54 (a).
32 MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 67 (a).
33 MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 67 (a).
34 Badaoni in *Muntakhab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 231 gives two divisions of the Rana's force which is not correct. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 305 is right to record that the Rana was not in favour of arranging his forces in battle array, but he did it on the advice of his followers. Of course, the forces were arranged as they



Haldighati, "the Thermopylae" of Mewar

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Parshwa (left-wing), and Dakshin Parshwa (right-wing) with some alteration suiting the local condition of the place. His van[35] was led by Hakim Sur Pathan, who had with him Chundawat Kishan Das of Salumber, Bhim Singh of Sardargarh, Rawat Sanga of Deogarh and Rathor Ram Das of Badnor, son of Jaimal, all chosen chiefs of Mewar. Raja Ram Shah, the ex-ruler of Gwalior was in the right[36] with his three sons and other selected men. Man Singh Jhala was in the command of left wing[37] and was assisted by Jhala Bida of Badi-Sadri and Man Singh Sonagra, son of Akhai Raj of Jhalor. The rear[38] was headed by Rana Punja of Panarwa and followed by Purohit Gopinath, Jagannath, Mehta Rattan Chand, Mahasani Jagan Nath and Keshao and Jaisa, Charans of Soniyana. Rana Pratap himself occupied the centre[39] of the Ghati, followed by Bhama Shah his minister and Tara Chand the brother of the latter. The Bhil foot-men who acknowledge the commission of Rana Punja took their position on the hills and hillocks of the Ghati with their short swords, arrows and bows and number of stones to be hurled or thrown over the enemies.[40] It was an army full of

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could be arranged in the narrow spaces of the Ghati. Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnama*, (MS.), f. 99 (a) and (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 152 gives rightly the divisions of various arrangements, which correspond more or less with the traditional divisions of the Rajputs and which befit the local condition of Haldighati. Drawing forces in regular order was not possible in the narrow space of the Ghati.

35 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 231; and (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p. 236 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 151.

36 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (MS.), f. 99 (a) ; and (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 152.

37 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 152.

38 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 151.

39 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 43 (b).

'गिरिस्थ हारिद्रक घट्ट मध्ये प्रतापसिंहः सततः प्रविष्टः'

40 MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, v. 21, f. 35 (a) :

कालांजना जलनिभा अथसन्नियुक्ता
सप्तायुतं समितिराण पुरंदरेण
भिल्ला महांबुद घटा रव तीव्र वेगा
भल्लान् ववषुरंरि सैन्य मही तलेषु ॥२१॥

patriotic ardour and animated by a personal devotion to its warlike young Rana.

Man Singh who had encamped in the village of Molela took some time in fixing tents and collecting provision for the imperial army.[41] Then on the 21st of June 1576 he moved with 4,000 men to a suitable ground for arranging his troops in battle order at no other place than a plain,[42] now called Badshah Bag,[43] just below the Ghati with Khamnor and village Bhagal on both its sides. A chosen party of eighty renowned youths led by Sayyid Hashim Barha, and which was called 'Jauza-i-Harawal'[44] [chickens of the front line (Lowe)] was set apart to meet the first attack of the Rajputs. Then followed the Van under Raja Jagannath who was helped by Asaf Khan. The right was commanded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The left was headed by Ghazi Khan Badakhshi and Lon Karan Kachhwaha. Madho Singh led the reserved perty and Mihtar Khan and others were in the rear. Man Singh took his position in the centre, mounted on an elephant. The historian Badaoni was with some of the special troops of the advance guard.[45]

Thus for a while both the Rajputs and the Mughals waited for an offensive until the lead was taken by the Rajputs whose elephant[46] carrying Mewar's flag came out from the neck of the Ghati to meet the Mughals early in the morning[47] of the 21st

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41 Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333 ; MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, v. 16, f. 35(a).

42 Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333 says, '......advanced to the plain.'

43 Tradition still preserves this name.

44 *Muntakhab*, (Lowe), p. 236.

45 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 231 ; *Muntakhab*, (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p. 236 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 152 ; (MS.) f. 99 (a).

46 MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, v. 17 :

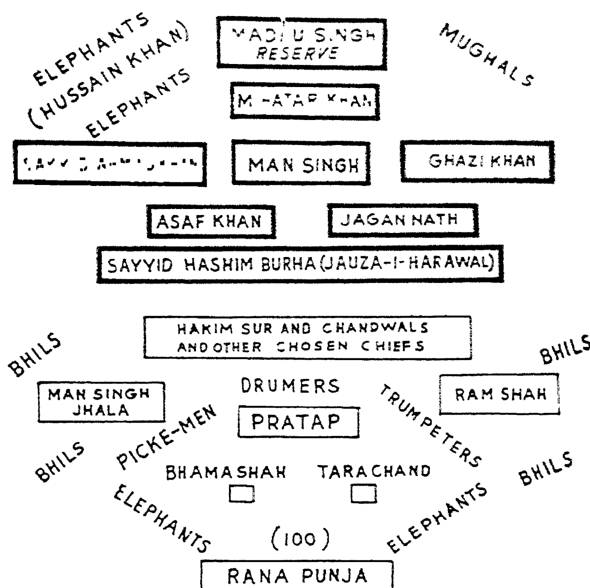
'हस्ति ध्वजे प्रचलित ध्वजिनी मुखेच'

MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 43 (b) :

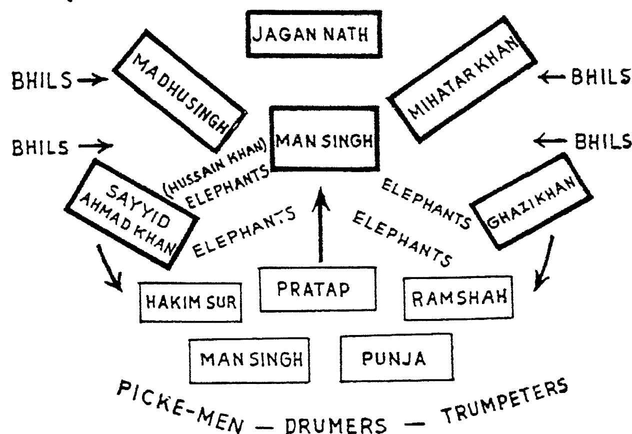
'ततः परंते मिलिते ध्वजिन्यौ'

47 Badaoni : *Muntakhab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 231 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 152 ; *Jagan-*

POSITION I
(BADSHAHI BAGH)



POSITION II
(KHUN KITALAI OR RAKTA TAL)



☐ *Rana's Party*

■ *Mansing's Party*

June, 1576 A.D. He was followed by the Rana's Van headed by Hakim Khan Sur.[48] As it advanced to meet the enemy, blowing of the trumpets, beating of the drums and singing of the songs encouraged the vigour of the warriors.[49] The advancing Rajput Van fell upon the imperial Vanguard. The attack was so impressive and the ground on which the advance party had to fight was so disadvantageous to them that they were about to sustain a complete defeat.[50]

Being encouraged by this show of strength of arms the Rajputs left their strategical position and descended down to the low plain of the Ghati, now called Badshah Bag, where the

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nath Rai Inscription, v. 41; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV :

'कृत्वा करे खड्गलतां स्ववल्लभां प्रतापसिंह समुपागते पगे'

MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, v. 17:

'प्रातः तुनः ध्वनति चाह चतुर्य घोपे'

48 *Muntakhab*, (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p. 236.

49 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 43 (b) :

'ततो महा दुदभि घोर नादैः' etc.

50 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 232 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 152.

Badaoni further adds (Lowe, Vol. II, p. 237), "At this juncture the author, who was with some of the special troops of the advance body said to Asaf, 'How are we now in these circumstances to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rajputs ?' He answered, 'On whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam.'

Again, it was on this occasion as Badaoni (Lowe, Vol. III, p. 237) records that an arrow struck Shaikh Mansur (son-in-law of Shaikh Ibrahim) who was the leader of this company, in the seat of honour as he was in the act of flight, and he bore the wound for a considerable time. But Qazi Khan, although he was but a Mulla, stood his ground manfully, until receiving a similar blow on his right hand, which wounded his thumb, being no longer able to hold his own, he recited (the saying) : "Flight from the overwhelming odds is one of the tradition of the Prophet" and followed his men (in their retreat).

enemies were found in their full fledged organisation. Hakim Khan Sur and Pratap with their followers fell upon the centre and the right of the enemies. Here ensued a bloody battle. Both the parties threw themselves into a hot fight. The battle raged foot to foot and hand to hand. The bloody conflict was maintained on either side, by the personal and obstinate efforts of strength, valour and agility. But in the spur of the event the left side of the Mughals being oppressed by irresistible weight of the hostile multitude was thrown into disorder, and the field was strewn with mangled carcasses. In this action Raja Ram Shah who was in the right of the Rajputs showed great valour. Thus the simultaneous efforts of the Rana's Van centre and right was so effective that both the left and Van of the Mughals including Ghazi Khan, Asaf Khan and Rajputs of Man Singh fled away. Some of them did not draw rein till they had passed ten or twelve miles beyond the river. Up to this stage victory was with the Rajputs who had broken the enemy's ranks and made many to fly for the safety of their life.[51]

It appeared as if the Mughals would lose the day. But the Sayyids of Barha retained their position firmly and kept the Rajputs engaged in battle.[52] In the meantime Mihtar Khan who was in the rear rushed to the front with his party and shouted[53] probably the report[54] of the arrival of the emperor. This device succeeded in stopping the flight of the Mughals and once more

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51 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 232 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 152 ; *Jagannath Rai Inscription*, v. 41 :

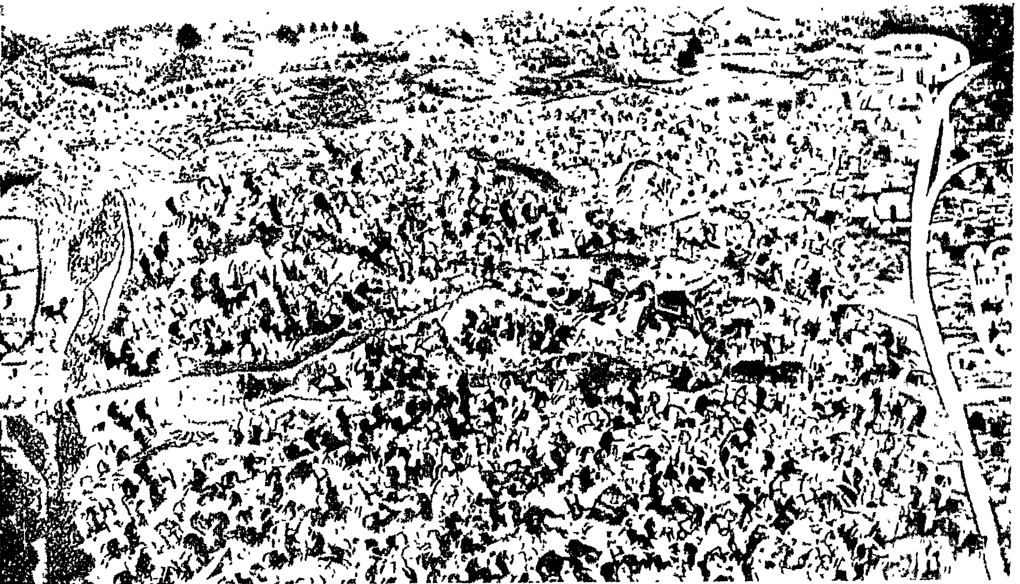
'साखंडिता मानवती द्विपच्चमू संकोचयन्ती चरणं पराङ्मुखी'

MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, ff. 43 (b), 44 (a) ; MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, vv. 19, 20.

52 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 232 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333.

53 Badaoni : *Muntkhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 232.

54 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (MS.), f. 100 ; and (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153.



Battle of Haldighati

(Based on an old painting)

rallied them again to engage in a furious fight against the Rajputs.[55] This reinforcement and rally really saved the Mughals from a great disaster.

Once more the Rajputs and the Mughals came face to face at a wider plain of 'Rakta Tal,'* also called 'Khun ki Talai', just on the bank of the Banas with Khamnor and village Bhagal on both its sides. Pratap with cool valour of his troops proved invincible as ever. His Rajputs belonging to various houses began to show free play of their weapons strewning the field with carcasses and blood.[56] Scattered hordes of sanguinary, grotesque savages pushed from the mountain side and began to make assault upon the Mughal flanks.[57] Tribal blood poured out for the defence of the country.

The Mughals too left no stone unturned to defy the attack of the Rajputs and Bhil arrays. They maintained the bloody conflict by the personal and obstinate efforts of their strength.[59] In this part of the struggle Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior with his three sons and Ram Das Rathor, son of Jaimal died their heroic death.[59]

Then came the turn of Man Singh who showed his great valour by pushing his elephant in front and taking active part in the action.[60] The Rajputs in order to meet the Rajput Commander of the Mughal army faced him with elephants. Husain Khan, the leader of the elephants of the imperial troops, also

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55 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153.

* MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 43 (b) accurately points the place as :

"एवं निवृत्त्वं पृतना द्ववंत संख्य संख्ये षमनोर मध्ये
पूर्ण प्रपूर्ण तलस्तु रक्त चर्म नदी सावत्त वर्णनाशा"

According to Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 11 (b), the battle was fought on the banks of Banas, which also indicates the plain of 'Rakta Tal' :

'बनास रे ढावे वेठ हुई'

56 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 43 (b).

57 MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, vv. 21-25.

58 Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333.

59 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (MS.), f. 99 (b) and (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153.

60 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153.

joined in the fight. One of the elephants of the imperial stable attacked the Rana's elephant furiously and during the charge the driver of the Rana's elephant was mortally wounded. His place was taken by the driver of the imperial elephant and he was taken over the Mughal side.[61]

When the elephants were making their own contributions to the day with irresistible charge Pratap brought himself almost within striking distance of Man Singh.[62] Instantly Chetak, his favourite horse, gave a jump to the rider. Pratap finding himself face to face with his enemy hurled a spear at Man Singh which struck the elephant, but the latter in order to parry the blow reclined in the 'Howdah' and made the elephant wheel around for flight.[63] But unfortunately the charger who had done his part was badly hurt in one of the fore-legs.[64] This active operation of the Rana invited, so to speak, the attention of the reserved Mughal force[65] on him, which began to pour showers of arrows. He, therefore, with the skill of his arms and strength marched round and carried him away from the peril.[66]

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61 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 233 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153.

62 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali,* f. 44 (b).

63 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali,* f. 44 (b) ; MS. *Raj Ratnakar,* Canto 7, vv. 34-40 :

"तन्मानसिंह स्य करीन्द्र कुंभे निक्षेप कुंत्तंच
शिवेव श्रुमे (?) पलायनेच्छ प्रबभूव कुंभी"
'तरमात्पलायत गजो धृत मानसिंह:'

An old painting in Jotdan also supports this view.

64 MS. *Phutkar Gita,* f. 76 (a) (b) :

'दांत चढिया बीच श्रवसाण जुही
गई ताछै कट पावर तुरंग कटियो'

65 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* (Per. Text), p. 233 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* (Per. Text), p. 333 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali,* f. 44 (b).

66 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 234 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari,* (Per. Text), p. 333 ; *Raj Prashasti,* Canto 4, v. 25 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali,* f. 44 (b).



Chetak ka Chabutra with 'Shiva Linga' near Balicha in its original conditio



Chetak ki "Chhatri" in its
present condition

At this stage the later Rajput sources, chiefly *Raj Prashasti*[67] and *Amarkavya Vanshavali*,[68] give the story of the interview of Rana Pratap and his brother Sakta which runs briefly as follows :

Leaving the actual spot of the battle Pratap turned towards the Ghati and the running hero was hotly pursued by two Mughal officers. Sakti Singh who was fighting with the Mughals followed the two pursuers of Pratap and did them to death. The Rana in the meantime had reached a stream beyond the Ghati. His lame horse, Chetak, finding it difficult to cross panted and fell dead.* At that instance Sakta came to his help, begged forgiveness of the Rana and offered his own horse to him. After reconciliation and washing of hearts and doing the needful for the burial of the steed the two brothers departed.

The story as it is current has more a colour of pathos than history. Ojha[69] also disagrees with the story because according to him it only originates from *Raj Prashasti.* I also feel inclined to agree with Ojha for, if the story had been an actuality, *Raj Ratnakar*, an independent work of the same time, would have not missed mentioning it. But in this work there is no reference to this story. *Khyat* writers of the same period also do not give any place to this story in their annals. In *Jagannath Rai Inscription* of Jagat Singh's time or even in *Raj Prakash* of Raj Singh's time also there is no indication of such an interview. Sakta who came to Chitor during his father's time must have died at the sack of Chitor by Akbar long ago in 1568 A.D. when not a warrior who defended it remained alive. If Sakta had been present in the Mughal army at Haldi Ghati, Badaoni or other Muslim annalists must have mentioned his

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67 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 4, vv. 27-30.

68 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 44 (b).

* At the place where his horse Chetak fell dead, a platform was raised which is still called 'Chetak ka Chabutra'. At present at the site of the platform a small 'Chhattri' stands in memory of the burial place of the steed. The two photographs give the original and the new construction at the other end of the Ghati.

69 Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 440, f.n. 5.

name. Under these circumstances we are disposed to reject the story as nothing but a fabrication of later writers.

Rana's sudden retreat caused confusion in the Rajput array.[70] Most of the gallant warriors like Jhala Man Singh, Rathor Shanker Das, Rawat Netsi and others made a stand against the Mughals for some time ; but a band of body-guard of Man Singh fought bravely against them which made them retreat.[72] The retreating forces were hotly pursued and many a Rajput met his death.[72] Thus on the very day at noon[73] the regular battle terminated in Mughal victory.[74] Then the victorious army of Man Singh returned to its camp, though the Bhils did not spare them and conducted blackmail till night and deprived the enemy of their provisions which they had stored.[75]

Our authorities differ in their estimates of the casualties incurred by both the sides. The Mughal offical record,[76] used by Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin, gives 150 killed on the imperial side and 500 on that of the Rana. Badaoni[77] who was present on the field gives the total number of casualties as 500 out of which

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70 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p: 233 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 152.

71 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 233.

72 Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333.

73 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 233.

74 MS. *Akbarnama*, f. 100 (a) ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat*, (Per. Text), p. 333 ; MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 11(b).

The record of the Rana's victory in Jagannath Rai *Prashasti*, vv. 41, 42, and MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, v. 42 is not worth credence.

75 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 44 (b) :

'श्रास्त सूर्योदयतः प्रभूते सूर्यास्त कालावधि धन्य युद्धे राणेशः'

MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, vv. 41, 42 :

'सर्व कुटिस्थ मपहाय धनं विहस्ता' 'अरि भवना त्गृहीत वित्तः'

The circumstantial events, the nature of the Bhils and the fatigue of the imperial army make us believe that the Mughals might have undergone this type of difficulty.

76 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 333.

77 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 234.

120 were Muslims. He does not care to give the details of the casualties on each side. *Iqbalnama*, (Persian Text. Vol. II, p. 306), records the death of 50 men of imperial side and 500 of the Rajput side. The number 50 seems to be the error of the scribe. The number given by Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin may be taken as correct. The Rajput sources[78] give exaggerated number and put the casualties of the imperialists as beyond counting and those of the Rana as 20,000 which is wrong.

Now it remains for us to consider the causes of the Rana's defeat in this battle of Haldi Ghati. The time-honoured practice of war which the Rana followed brought ruin to him. At such a pass it was not necessary to arrange his men in battle array as he did. The best course would have been to post his various diversions at various points in such a manner as to entice the enemy inside the pass and not to allow him to escape without suffering death or destruction. In the second place immediately after the retreat of the Mughal Vanguard it was not right on the part of the Rana to rush to the plain below with full force, which tired out the Rajputs at the first out-set. Thirdly, the accounts of the battle as given in the Rajput and Muslim sources show that the Rana could not maintain order among his troops after his second attack on the Mughals who, on the other hand, succeeded in rallying their men and maintaining order. The superior number of the enemy and his bold stand could not but lead to the retreat of the Rana and his followers.

However, it was Pratap's credit that he maintained coolness of mind at that hour of crisis and left the field saving himself from being captured or slain. By his flight he was able to serve the purpose of his land more effectively than he could have done by perishing. As soon as he left the Ghati he went to Koliyari,[79] a hilly town in the west of Gogunda, and engaged himself in arranging for the relief of his wounded warriors.

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78 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 44 (a) :
"विखंडितानां यवनेश्वरस्य महाभटाना गणनां विधातुं,
विद्या विनोदी गणेश्वरोपिशक्तोन कोन्यः प्रभवेत्समर्थः ॥"
MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 107 (a).

79 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 153.

Though Man Singh was victorious he did not think it wise to imperil his hard won victory by pursuing[80] the Rana. Probably he was in dread of an ambush. The next day he looked over the battle-field to see how the Mughal warriors had behaved and left for Gogunda which he acquired after a little opposition on the 23rd June, 1576. In order to defend the imperial camp against a sudden attack by the Rajputs a wall was built round the town, the streets were barricaded and a trench was dug.[81] The news of the victory, along with the elephant Ram Prasad as a trophy, was despatched to the court through the historian Abdul Qadir Badaoni.[82] It must not be lost sight of that Man Singh was not able to gather much fruit from this victory. While he lived at Gogunda (from 23rd June, 1576 to the end of September 1576) his men could not procure sufficient provision to eat. Their usual ration was substituted by flesh of animals and mangoes. The way connecting Gogunda and the imperial line was blockaded.[83] When he was called back to Ajmer by the imperial orders the emperor did not confer on him the honour he expected. Both he and Asaf Khan were forbidden the court for some time.[84]

Having looked after his wounded soldiers Rana Pratap who was not disappointed by the disaster of the battle busied himself in defending his country against further aggression. He returned to Kumbhalgarh and began to take active interest in consolidating the parts which had suffered ruin and devastation in the cantral part of Mewar. Two copper-plate inscriptions[85]

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80 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 233.

81 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 234 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 153.

82 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 229 and 235 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 153-154 [MS. f. 100 (a)].

83 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 234.

84 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 235 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 335 ; *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, pp. 160-161.

85 No. 26/133, Jagir, Samvat 95 of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur which I have discovered recently.

dated the 5th of the bright-half ... adrapad. V.S. 1633, (just three months after the battle of Haldi Ghati) which he issued from Kumbhalgarh granting the villages of Pipli and Sathana in Central Mewar to Balbhadra, establish the fact that he was reviving his authority over the parts which had fallen prey to the aggrandising activity of the enemy and was creating a body of his supporters in that area to check the Mughal influence. He had also stationed his men at various points to cut off the communication between the newly established power of Man Singh and imperial territory and to prevent the supplies from reaching the enemy's camp which was suffering from shortage of provisions. Even the 'Banjaras' were forbidden to the area in order to starve the Mughals.[86]

This was not all. Pratap began making an attempt to form a coalition of some of the powers of Rajasthan against Akbar's authority. Narain Das of Idar who had submitted to Akbar long ago was persuaded by the Rana to raise the standard of revolt aginst the imperial authority.[87] The Maharana had also invited Rao Surtan of Sirohi to join hand with him in the struggle he was going to launch against the Mughals. Taj Khan of Jhalor, it seems, was also in league with Pratap. The trouble in Nadol by Chandra Sen had, it seemed, some sort of connection with the Rana.[88] Pratap re-established his power in Gogunda as soon as Man Singh had left the place and expelled the Mughal garrison from there.[89]

This kind of alliance of Udaipur, Idar, Jhalor and Sirohi was a serious thing. Akbar, therefore, first of all tried to chastise the Rana's confederates so as to break up the combination. Sayyid Hashim and Rai Singh were sent against Taj Khan of Jhalor and Rai Surtan of Sirohi. They were successful in

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86 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 234 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 335.

87 MS. *Akbarnama*, f. 110 (b) ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 164.

88 MS. *Akbarnama*, f. 110 (b) ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 164.

89 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 155.

reducing them to obedience.[90] They also took Nadol and induced the rebels to surrender to the royal command.[91] Similarly by 19th Oct. 1576 A.D. Asaf Khan, Qutbuddin, Ali Naqib Khan and others were able to re-establish the royal authority over Narain Das of Idar.[92] These measures crippled the resources of the Rana and closed the roads of ingress and egress from the Rana's country.[93]

When the imperial commanders were establishing order in the rebel areas Akbar in order to personally supervise the reduction of the Rana's power personally left Ajmer for Gogunda on October 11, 1576 A.D.[94] For avoiding sudden Rajput assault precautions were taken by sending advance party every day before the imperial march. Thus the emperor reached Gogunda, re-occupied it and made it royal headquarters for some time.[95] Raja Bhagwan Das and Kunwar Man Singh and Qutbuddin Khan were sent off in order to find out the whereabouts of the Rana.[96] But when they had failed in their attempts they were put in charge of Gogunda, the Mughal outpost.[97] Similarly at Pindwara and Haldi Ghati the royal armies[98] were stationed to guard the route to Gujarat and to block the ways of escape for the Rana.

Then the emperor moved further in the north-easternly direction and put Majahad Beg, Ghazi Khan Badakhshi, Sarif

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[90] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 164.
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 241 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 164 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 335.
[93] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 164.
[94] Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 240 ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 164.
[95] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 165 ; MS. *Akbarnama*, f. 111 (b).
[96] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 165.
[97] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 165 ; Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 235 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 336.
[98] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per Text), Vol. III, p. 166.

Khan Atka etc., with 3,000 horsemen at Mohi[99] (near Nathdwara). From Mohi the imperial standard marched further north-east to Madaria[100] and stationed Abdur Rahman as an outposter with 500 troops. Then the emperor turned back to Udaipur about November, 1576 A.D. where he stayed for some time. After appointing Fakhruddin and Jagannath to take charge of Udaipur and Sayyid Abdullah Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das at the entrance of the defiles of Udaipur the emperor left for Malwa through Banswara and Dungarpur about the end of the year 1576 A.D.[101] During the course of his march for about two months Akbar tried to occupy places from the north-eastern corner of western mountain chain to the south-eastern point up to Udaipur so that the Rana may be shut up within the hilly tract and may naturally surrender to him.

But this kind of encircling movement failed to capture the Rana who remained unsubdued. His activities were as usual directed towards rendering the Mughal highway to Gujarat through his country unsafe. He did not stop from creating troubles and continued intrigues[102] with Idar and Sirohi. With the help of his faithful followers, the Bhils, he remained untraceable,[103] and little later the imperial outpost of Gogunda also fell in his hand. The emperor hearing of the bold activities[104] of

99 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 166, Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 336 ; Badaoni writes Mohani (*Muntakhab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 241).

100 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 241 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 336, MS. *Akbarnama*, f. 114 (a). Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 166.

101 Badaoni : *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 242 ; MS. *Akbarnama*, f. 114 (b) ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 169 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 336 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 312 ; *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 4, v. 32 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 45 (a).

102 MS. *Akbarnama*, f. 114 (b) ; Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 169.

103 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 169. MS. *Akbarnama*, f 115 (a) (b).

104 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 169-170.

the Rana sent Raja Bhagwan Das, Man Singh (who had come back to the emperor), Mir Bahar and others to re-occupy the lost parts of the Rana's country. When the imperial army came the Rana crept away into his hilly resorts and again these outposts fell in the hands of the Mughal officers on or about the month of July, 1577 A.D.[105]

As soon as Bhagwan Das turned his back the Rana resumed his activity of raiding the Mughal commanders who were left behind. In order to suppress him a strong expedition was fitted out under the leadership of Shahbaz Khan who was followed by many able officers like Sayyid Kasim, Sayyid Raju, Sayyid Hashim, Sharif Khan, all well known officers of the Mughal forces. They left for Mewar on October 15, 1577 A.D. Under the new commander the vital point of the military operations that ensued was the strong fort of Kumbhalgarh,[106] a highly defencible position situated and perched upon a high, steep mountain, the summit of which was encircled by powerful ramparts enclosing the whole fort. It was an impregnable fortress on the western border amidst an enchanting landscape. Shahbaz Khan at first took possession of Kelwara a town just three miles from the fort at the foot of the mountains. Four times the Mughals sent their forces and four times they were repulsed. But at last feeling that the supply of food had run short Pratap left[107]

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105 Abul Fazl gives no date and hence the date has been deduced from the fact that Akbar returned back to Agra by the middle of May, 1577. It is only after this that the Mughal officers were sent. Going and occupying must have taken 2½ months' time which approximately comes to July, 1577 A.D.

106 The translator of *Tabaqat* (Vol. II) in his footnote no. 4, p. 343, has wrongly called the fort as Kamalmir, the lake of lotuses. But in fact it is called Kumbhalgarh as it was a fort built by Kumbha.

107 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 107 (a) (b) ; Ojha's *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 447 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 157. These authorities ascribe the reason of Pratap's quitting the fort to the treachery of Deora chief of Abu who showed to the enemies a secret pass. This does not seem to be an adequate reason of the evacuation of the fort.
MS. *Akbarnama*, f. 146 (b).

the fort at midnight after assigning its command to Bhan. The Mughals ultimately got possession of the fort after a tough fight on April 3rd, 1578 A.D. To his utter disappointment Shahbaz Khan found that 'the bird had flown' and there was no life over which any physical conquest could be claimed. However, the Mughal commander established Mughal garrisons in fifty strategic places in Mewar and devasted a large tract of land during the course of his stay here for about three months.[108]

This action of quitting the fort was in complete accord with Pratap's whole military career, for, hero as he was, not blind to reality and needs of generalship. The abandonment of the fort and the sacrifice of the defences were losses not to be weighed against the humiliation of general retirement of chances of a disaster in the fort. Pratap's aim was to defeat his enemies in detail.

The Rana escaped to Dholan[109] on the western skirts of Mewar and lived in that vicinity for some time. His minister Bhama Shah and his brother Tarachand who had gone with an army towards Malwa returned to the Rana with 20,000 'Mohurs' and relieved much of his financial burden.[110] Pratap then launched an attack on Sultan Khan at Diber near Kumbhalgarh. Amar Singh showed great valour by killing the Mughal commander by a single stroke of his spear and occupied the garrison about November, 1578.[111]

In order to punish the Rana for his daring activities the emperor appointed Shahbaz Khan in December, 1578 A.D. The Mughal commander achieved his object by driving away the

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108 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 204-205 ; Badaoni : *Muntakhab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 266 ; Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), p. 341 ; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 318.

109 MS. [illegible] f. 46 (a), records Dholan as his head-quarters from 1580-1583 A.D. Dholan is a small village 20 miles south-west of Kumbhalgarh. It is surrounded by hills and dales of impregnable nature.

110 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 157-159.

111 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, ff. 45 (a), 46 (b) ; *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 4, v. 36-45.

Rana to his hilly fortress and returned.[112] Again in November, 1579 A.D. he came to Mewar with the object of subduing Pratap. This time he remained in Mewar till about the middle of 1580 A.D. and supervised the Mughal operations against Pratap with the result that the Rana's influence was cleared from the central region of his territory and he was made to retire to his hilly homes.[113]

Pratap's life during this period of exile has been variously interpreted. He is pictured as one living the life of a wanderer, maintaining his large family on grass, sleeping restless nights on mats and lurking from one valley to other in the company of wild tribes. Many stories have been made current to show the state of destitution of the royal family. The most common is the tale of a cat taking away a loaf of bread from the hands of a crying daughter of Pratap. But such stories suffer from the fact that no record of them is found in any of the Khyats, *Raj Prashasti*, *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, *Raj Vilas*, etc., which describe various events of the history of Mewar from the early times down to the reign of Raj Singh. It is very difficult to trace out the source from which Tod[114] picked up such a gossip. The fact that the Rana had no daughter[115] to cry also proves the hollowness of the entire story. Ojha[116] has also rejected this story on the consideration of the prosperous situation in which the Rana was placed in the mountainous region of Mewar.

Similarly there is another legend ascribed to this period in the Rana's life, which history dissolves and it is this. Pressed by the imperial overtures he wrote a letter of apology to Akbar asking his forgiveness. The story originates in the oral tradition of Bikaner which Tod[117] accepted and gave a wide currency. There is in Dingal literature the so-called collection of the

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112 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 221.
113 *Ibid*, p. 229.
114 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 398.
115 In Nensi's list there is no name of any daughter of Pratap. He only gives the names of his fifteen sons. (p. 69)
116 Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 455-457.
117 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 398-400.

letters,[118] exchanged between Prithviraj of Bikaner and the Rana. in which the former, who had some reputation as a poet, asked the Rana whether there was any truth in the rumours of his submission. The Rana replied similarly that all such talk was absurd and that he was not one to bend before a conqueror. The poetic beauty of this correspondence has given it such a celebrity that it has become a legend. Whether the poem gave currency to the Bikaner tradition or the poem merely embodied the tradition is a moot question and perhaps irrelevant. for it is extremely doubtful whether the poems were actually written by the two royal 'literates'. And legends have a way of sacrificing what is historically true to a picturesque detail or a pathetic effect. No contemporary historian, Hindu or Muslim, mentions it ; and a letter of apology from Pratap is not the kind of thing that a Muslim historian will overlook.

Then on June 16, 1580 Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan was appointed as the governor of Ajmer and commander in charge of the Mewar campaign. The Khan Khanan leaving his family at Sherpura led an expedition against the Rana. The Maharana withdrew to his hilly headquarters of Dholan as the Mirza was proceeding further and further to capture him. In the meantime Kunwar Amar Singh by his daring efforts invaded Sherpura to divert the attention of the Mughal general. He was also successful in capturing the Mirza's family. But when the Rana heard of the captivity of the ladies, he at once instructed his son to send them with all necessary honour to the Mirza's place.[119]

While the Rana was busy in facing the Mughal commanders who were carrying death and destruction in Mewar every year,

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[118] For original verses see *Maharana Yash Prakash*, pp. 87-94.

[119] *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 4, v. 32-33 :

"अमरेशः खानखाना दाराणां हरणं व्यधात्
सुवासनीवत् संतोष्य प्रेपयामास ताः पुनः"

MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 45 (b) :

"कुमार स्त्वमरेश नामा म्लेच्छाभिमान क्षय कारि धामा
जग्राह् वै सेरपुरा ज्जवेन स खानखानस्य कलत्र मापा"

MS. *Vanshavali*, f. 73 (a) :

'खानखानाजी री बहुआं आवर सु'

the Rathors of Chhappan, the south-western part of Magra district, established their power in that area. The Rana in order to subdue them marched against them and by V.S. 1642 (1585 A.D.) fully established his supremacy over them. Luna Chavandiya,[120] their leader was defeated and thus Chhappan was cleared of the Rathor's trouble. An inscription[121] of Surkhand, near Sarara, dated the 11th of the bright-half of Jaishta, V.S. 1642 (1585 A.D.) shows that Rana Pratap freed that land from the Rathors and since then Sisodia supremacy was fully established.

During this time the Rana was not only making his position strong by uprooting the Rathors, but he was carrying his expedition against some small[122] states, probably Banswara and Dungarpur. In order to bring the Rana as a captive to Delhi, Raja Jagannath was now sent towards Mewar on 6th December, 1584 A.D. The Rana retreated into hills and the Mughal commander by posting Sayyid Raju at Mandalgarh with some men proceeded further in the interior. Pratap made a surprise attack on Jagannath's army, Raju was called to pursue Pratap, but he failed to do so and then the Rana marched away towards Chitor. The Mughals again followed him in that direction, but to their surprise the Rana escaped. After some time Jagannath left Mewar of course laying it waste and destroying it wherever he went.[123]

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120 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 158.

121 Its impression is preserved in the Jagir Misal No. 1722/93 of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur. The same impression was exhibited by me in the 1944 session of I. H. R. C. at Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur. This inscription is very important as it shows that the Rana withdrew to Chavand only about the year 1585 A.D. after the defeat of the Rathors. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 46 (a) shows that up to 1583 the Rana was living in Dholan near Kumbhalgarh. The fact that all other Mughal invasions were also directed against Kumbhalgarh proves that up to 1583-84 the Rana's whereabouts were suspected in that area. This makes it clear, therefore, that after 1583 A.D. the Rana's attention was diverted towards Chhappan and by 1585 A.D. he was fully the master of that area.

122 Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 442.

123 *Ibid.*

The year 1585 A.D. seems to be the red year in the chequered career of Pratap. By this time the Mughal danger had passed away. Jagannath's invasion was practically speaking the last important invasion, for after this the emperor had no time to spare for Mewar as he was busy attending the more important question of the north-western frontier and the Punjab province. This respite was well utilised by Pratap who launched an attack on the Mughal garrisons scattered mostly in the north-western and north-eastern and central parts of Mewar. He recovered with the help of his son Kunwar Amar Singh thirtysix places[124] from the Mughal outposts of which Udaipur, Mohi, Gogunda, Mandal, Pandwara were the chief. The re-occupation of the major part of Mewar is clear from an inscription[125] recently discovered from the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 15th of the bright half of Kartika, V.S. 1645 (1588 A.D.) which records the grant of land to 'Trivedi' Sadulnath at Pander, just near Jahazpur. From this we conclude that the Rana had occupied the north-eastern part of Mewar by that time and was busy in the reconstruction work of his territory by conferring grants on his trusted followers.

This period of respite was also utilised by Pratap by establishing his capital in Chavand on or about 1585 A.D. as stated in the Surkhand Inscription. It was a safer place where he could stay and look to the administration of his land. A palace was also constructed and a temple of 'Chamunda' was built during the same period at Chavand.

From the *Amarsar*, written during the reign of Pratap's son, we learn that the Rana had established perfect order in his land to the extent that women and children had no cause to fear anybody. People enjoyed so much of internal security that even the Rana could not punish those who had no fault. He had made provision for the diffusion of education. The land under his sway abounded in milk, fruits, trees and provision of various

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124 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 107 (b); MS. *Suryavansh*, f. 54 (b); MS. *Tawarikh Vanshavali*, f. 19 (b); MS. *Vanshavali Ranajini*, f. 68 (b); *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 163-164.

125 Plate No. 368 of the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.

kinds. This period of peace brought many flourishing towns in existence inhabited by loyal and rich subjects.[126]

Pratap was destined to enjoy peace and freedom from foreign aggression for about twelve years (1585-1597 A.D.) However, the wear and tear of fifteen years of almost continuous campaigning had naturally affected his nerves, while the many wounds he had received may have undermined his iron constitution and he fell ill due to an injury sustained by his leg, while striking his bow.[127] The blow was fatal. After some days' illness he died[128] at Chavand on January 19th, 1597 A.D. He was cremated on the bank of a stream near the village of Bandoli,[129] one and a half miles from Chavand.

The story of the struggle between Pratap and Akbar, which is crowded and too replete with incidents, produces the impression that it was a prolonged and desperate struggle and involved

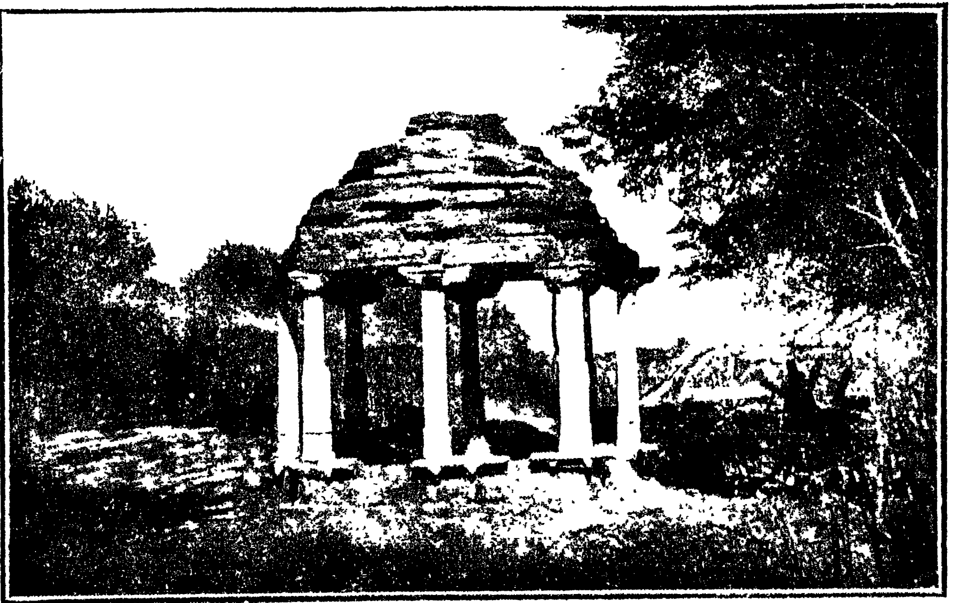
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126 MS. *Amarsar*, Yash Varnan, v. 60 to 75.

127 *Maharana Yash Prakash*, p. 139.
Abul Fazl in his *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, Part III, p. 1069 wrongly ascribes his death to the administration of poison by his son Amar Singh.

128 Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 405-406 has drawn a pathetic picture of dying Pratap which has been accepted by almost all modern writers. But I find no reference to such a picture in any original sources. Even the later Khyats etc., make no mention of it. I am inclined, therefore, to reject it as based on sentimental hero-worship.

129 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 164.
Again Tod has committed the mistake in his *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 405, by representing the death scene of the Rana at the bank of Pichhola, Udaipur. His 'Chhattri' at Bandoli falsifies Tod's assumption. Even after Pratap's death Bandoli continued to be the burning place of the royal house which is clear from an inscription of 1601 A.D. The inscription relates the death of Pratap's sister. As this inscription now forms a part of Pratap's Chhattri, it has given some place for doubt whether it is the Chhattri of Pratap or the Chhattri of his sister. It is just possible that this inscription might have been removed from the neighbouring place and placed at this prominent quarter by some body.



Pratap's Cenotaph at Bandoli

the Mughals in useless sweat and toil. The repeated attempts of the Mughal commanders were foiled by the repeated surprise-assaults launched by the Rajputs and ultimately brought much misery and sufferings on the invaders. For a long time the Mughal interest had to suffer in Bengal and North-West Frontier Provinces on account of the major resources of the Mughal empire being utilised against the Rajput fear in Mewar. Expeditions to Mewar were after all given up for some time by Akbar about 1585 A.D. and were never seriously taken up till after his death. During this period the Rajputs reorganised their power and undid all that was done by so much of hard struggle and loss of men and money. Only Chitor and Mandalgarh remained in the hands of the Mughals. The facts as explained above make us think that the right course for Akbar after Haldi Ghati would have been to stop the useless carnage, to be content with the results already acquired to hold the captured forts fast, and rally the population of that part to the standard of the principles followed in the Mughal dominion. It is a strange irony of history that Akbar began his career of the conquest in Mewar with its possession of Mandalgarh and Chitor and ended it by retaining of these forts only. As regards Pratap it must be said that for twentyfive years he had played an important part upon the political stage, and represented with remarkable fidelity the views of the great majority of his subjects. He was a great ruler by virtue of his being a good man, with homely virtue, simple life, dauntless courage, untiring industry, generosity, and kindness which won him general affection and respect.[130]

Pratap's death did more than close an epoch. It removed from the stage of Rajput politics its most attractive and most striking personality. By the feats of his political foresight he made alliances with some of the neighbouring states and cleverly diverted the attention of the Mughal empereor to undo them. This device very often succeeded and Mewar had to feel less

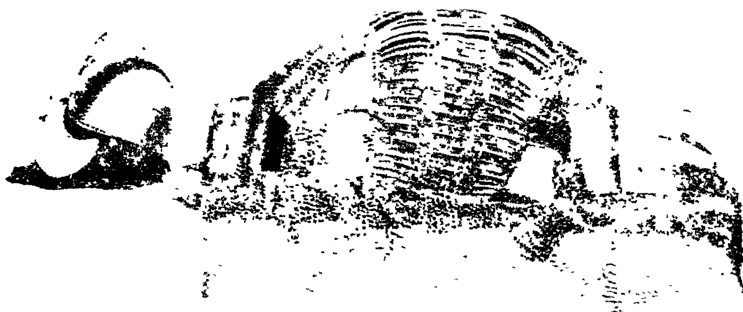
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130 MS. *Amarsar*, Yash Varnan, v. 73, f. 7 (a) :
'आर्य सुयुक्तया सुधियाचधर्म शक्तयां रणं मंत्रिगणै विचारं
प्रकुर्वनोशा चितराज तेजो परिस्खलत्येवनयः कदाचित्'

the pressure of divided strength of the Mughal army despatched for Rajasthan. As an optimist he took all the blows of adverse fortune with equanimity, and he never bore a grudge against it. By his spirit and success, the soldiers were taught to act, the subjects to hope, and the enemies to fear and respect.

As a general and a leader of men in war Pratap was a person suited to the need of his own time. It is true he commited a sad mistake by engaging himself and his army in a formal attack on the Mughals at the battle of Haldi Ghati where four hours of action brought disaster and ruin ; but equally true is the fact that he made amends by following subsequently the policy of abandoning a post and retreating to a safe place whenever necessary and rallying his strength in his hilly shelters. Cutting the enemy's communications, surprise attacks and retreat, the new tactics applied scientifically to his advantage against heavy odds, were legacies which he gave to the generations following him. His defensive mountain warfare became a technique in itself. The application of Bhil infantry for dash and sudden attacks added a novelty to his system of warfare which no one can ignore.

Great as he was, one might speculate whether the struggle tended to contribute to the welfare of the country as a whole or produced adverse effects on the future of the land. It is to be admitted that, as Akbar was a great and benevolent sovereign who pursued the grand policy of unifying the country both politically and culturally, Pratap's remaining aloof from the union was a great impediment in the noble task. To that extent it was injurious to the interest of his country. If at this stage Pratap would have joined the Mughal order he could have saved his country from disaster and ruin. Even his long resistance could not avert the days when during his own son's time Mewar became a subordinate state of the Mughal empire. Had this opportunity been given to Mewar earlier much of its backwardness could have been mended. But Pratap's name is immortal in the history of our land as a great soldier of liberty who concentrated his attention on this aspect of the struggle he had to wage without caring for material advantage or loss



Armoury of Maharana Pratap



Saddle of Chetak

CHAPTER VI

ᴀMAR SINGH[1] AND JAHANGIR : WAR AND PEACE (1597—1620 A.D.)

h Pratap's work of reform and consolidation had done ɪprove the tone of the administration in Mewar and .e security and safety of the people, yet there re- :tain problems which demanded immediate attention. ;ed warfare with the Mughals had squandered all ul economy had accumulated and led Mewar to the ɪncial ruin. The rehabilitation of the central and war, a great part of which still lay waste, was an necessity. The organisation of civil and military s was of no less importance. The long wars with the l enhanced the importance of feudal order and had ıl rivalry and feud among them, the hostility between [2] and Saktawats[3] being an instance in point. This . if not mended would tend to undermine the interest e of the country and the crown.

the condition when Amar Singh, the eldest son of ; to the throne on 19th January, 1597 A.D.[4] He ɔised that the evils under which Mewar groaned hreefold : the rivalry among the nobles, the public

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ı's reigning period was from 19th January, 1597 January 1620 A.D.

alled after Chunda, the eldest son of Rana ɦad renounced his right to the throne in favour r.

ᵥhich claimed its descent from Sakta, a son of .

ansh, f. 56 (a).



Rana Amar Singh

disorder and civil and military disorganisation of the state. He, therefore, turned his attention to the internal problems of the country. He defined the position and privileges of the individual chiefs and laid down their order of precedence.[5] In order to establish control over his nobles and to make them serve the general good, he began to demote or promote the ranks of the nobles and transfer the Jagirs.[6] Begun, Ratangarh, Bedla, Delwara and Badnor were the instances. These were transferred and retransferred from one Jagirdar to another during his time.[7]

He took steps for the rehabilitating of the people who had been displaced from their homes and suffered on account of the Mughal invasions. He founded the town of Sarara and small villages (kheras) in the Kumbhalgarh district[8] when he was a prince. He alloted lands in Kelwa[9] (Kumbhalgarh district) Muroli[10] (Chitor district) and Rampura[11] (Lakhola district) to the uprooted families. He gave large sums of money in free-gift to those of his followers who stood in need of financial assistance.

To supplement the local militia he kept a standing army of

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5 It was Amar Singh who organised the feudal order based on the distinction of 'Umraos' of the rank of sixteen and 'Sardars' of the rank of thirtytwo.

6 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 409.

7 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 409 ; Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 491, 506.

8 A copper-plate inscription in the possession of Mr. Lakshmi Lal, Mohasal of Badi Pol Gate, Udaipur, records his early measures of founding the town of Sarara and small villages (kheras) habilitating the Deoras in V.S. 1630.

9 Kelwa-grant, No. 343 dated the 7th of the bright-half of V.S. 1662 (1605 A.D.) preserved in Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, records the grant of 121 Bighas of land to Purohit Anand.

10 Photograph of a Patta dated V.S. 1892 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur records the grant of 200 Bighas of land to Deva in Muroli by Amar Singh I.

11 A copper-plate inscription, No. 649 dated V.S. 1891, in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, records the grant of land in Rampura to Goswami Maya Bharti by Amar Singh I.

the emperor, who in 1603 A.D. again ordered Salim to resume the enterprise with vigour. A large force was placed at his disposal and several Amirs and Omras, like Jagannath, Madho Singh, Sadiq Khan, Hashim Khan, Islam Kuli, Sher Beg, Amir Beg etc., were ordered to accompany the prince to accomplish the conquest of Mewar. But the lethargical prince practically refused to move. The emperor contemplated sending prince Khusrav and Sagar to conduct the campaign, but owing to his illness and his subsequent death it came to nothing.[25]

But as soon as Jahangir assumed power, the conquest of Mewar which was always put off by him on one pretext or another, when he was a prince, was now taken up seriously. His motives of conquest soon moulded on lines laid down by Akbar, viz., to compel Amar Singh to recognise his suzerainty. In the very first year of his reign, (Nov. 1605 A.D.) he despatched an army of 22,000 horse well equipped with artillery and treasury against the Rana under the command of Parviz and Asaf Khan, Jafar Beg.[26] With him was associated Sagar[27] with the view that his presence as a prince of the Rana's family might prove helpful.

The Rana who had made remarkable progress in the occupa-

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[25] Abul Fazl : *Akbarnama*, Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 110 ; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 7.

Iqbalnama, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 496. *Iqbalnama*, gives a list of more than 60 important officers who accompanied the prince.

[26] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 7 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 512-513 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), p. 48 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 165.

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He was one of the sons of Udai Singh, the father of Rana Pratap, and on account of his displeasure with Pratap, had repaired to the Mughal court, where he was given shelter.

Jahangir gave him the title of Rana and sent him to Chitor as a Mughal Jagirdar. Later on when there was treaty between the Rana and the emperor he was deprived of his Jagir of Chitor and a fiefship in central India was conferred upon him. He was later on sent to Bihar with his status raised. He died in 1617 A.D.

tion of his lost parts, organised[28] his military power in such a way as to meet the enemy from the fronts of Deo Suri, Badnor, Mandalgarh and Mandal.[29] From the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* it appears that the Mughal commanders could make no fair progress. Finding the affairs arduous, prince Parviz opened peace negotiations with the Rana's men at Mandalgarh. prince Bagh, one of the sons of the Rana, represented Amar Singh. In the meantime there broke out Khusrav's revolt and Parviz was called back by the emperor's orders.[30] Jagannath[31] was left in charge of the campaign, but nothing substantial came out of this expedition.[32]

In order to bring the Mewar campaign to a successful conclusion, the emperor fitted out a powerful expedition under the leadership of Mahabat Khan in July, 1608 A.D. In order to exalt his position a high rank was conferred upon him and those who were ordered to follow him were also rewarded. Being helped by some of the ablest officers and an efficient army, Mahabat opened the campaign with full vigour. He marched through the country breaking through Rajput defences and carried

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28 Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 409-410, gives a coloured picture of the Rana as laiden with luxury at the palace of Pichhola, Udaipur. According to him it was the noble of Salumber who roused him from torpor. This story has been accepted uncritically by almost all modern writers. But the account as narrated by Tod seems imaginary because the Rana was not living during these days at Udaipur, but was living at Chavand. The whole picture befits western than eastern life of the court. Again he seems to have confused a later invasion by Abdullah with this invasion of Parviz. The former invaded Mewar in 1609 A.D. and the latter invaded Mewar in 1605 A.D.

29 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 223.

30 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 33 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 512-513.

31 Tod is not right (vide his *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 417-418) in supposing that Parviz had left the command to his son. Thi is not possible because Parviz, born in 1589 A.D., could not have a son old enough to command an army in 1606 A.D.

32 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 35.

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32 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 35.

death and destruction wherever he went. Several soldiers were slain in the action and a large number of Rajput warriors were imprisoned. His victorious arms reached up to the Girwa which made the Rana retreat into the hilly tracts of Mewar.[33]

However, the Rajputs did not desist from making surprise attacks on the enemy. The daring action of Bagh and Megh Singh, as described by the local annalists,[34] checked the progress of the enemy and turned the tables against him. During one night Bagh Singh despatched his followers in the disguise of melon-sellers with their buffaloes loaded with artillery pretending to sell melons. When they reached the portals of Mahabat's camp, an equal number of the buffalloes who were made to lurk in the forest rushed out with oil-soaked rags tied to their horns and set fire to the artillery and the camp of the enemy. This created confusion in the Mughal camp. Amid such chaos and confusion three hundred Rajput soldiers attempted a night attack and made the confusion worst confounded. Mahabat was forced to retreat, leaving his baggages and other materials of war at the mercy of the Rajputs who plundered them. The success that the Mughals acquired in more than one place was thus foiled by Bagh's daring night attack on the Mughal camp. The campaign thus ended not in a complete defeat but a confused rout of the Mughals who could not meet the guerilla tactics of the foes. Mahabat left Mewar in despair leaving Sagar[35] at Chitor and Jagannath Kachhwaha at Mandal. The latter died[36] there a year after. Though the Mughal sources do not mention

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33 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 70 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 521-522 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), p. 48.

34 *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, f. 24 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 225.

35 MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 7 (a) ; MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 29 (a).
The emperor's farman, regarding the Jagir of Kunwar Karan Singh, dated 11th May, 1615 A.D. of the confidential office of the Maharana of Udaipur makes mention of 'Sagar' Jagir of Chitor. (Vide *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 239, 245, 250.)

36 His cenotaph was raised afterwards at Mandal bearing the inscription, dated 11th of the bright-half of V.S. 1670 (1613 A.D.).

this discomfiture, the way in which Jahangir has expressed dissatisfaction with the progress of the war indicates the truth of the story as narrated above. Jahangir had deplored this failure also in his memoirs by saying, "the affair did not assume an approved form."[37]

To retrieve the position, Jahangir sent in June. 1609 A.D. Abdullah,[38] a rash commander and valorous soldier at the head of a large force, consisting of 12,000 men to carry on the war in Mewar. His status was raised by conferring upon him the title of Firoz Jang. With Abdullah as their chief leader, the Mughals assumed the offensive with full vigour. In the beginning the Mughals made some progress, as the Rajputs as usual had retreated to the Hills.[39] Abdullah broke through hilly defences of the Rana and made him quit Chavand[40] and Merpur.[41] On hearing the reports of this success the emperor was pleased and granted honour and rewards to meritorious and deserving men of the army.[42] But the imperial success was short lived. The Rajputs on their part retaliated by devastating the Mughal territory in Malwa, Gujarat, Ajmer and Godwad.[43] Mukand Das

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37 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 75.

38 Khwajah Abdullah had migrated from Hisar in Transoxiana to India in the year 1592 A.D. and had entered the service of Akbar. [*Maasir-ul-Umara*, (MS.), Vol. II, ff. 24-25; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), p. 49; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 165.]

39 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 75; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 523; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), p. 49.

40 MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 16 (b).

41 *Maasir-ul-Umara*, (MS.), Vol. II, f. 25.

42 *Tuzuk-[illegible]* (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 75.

43 MS. [illegible] ff. 16 (b), 17 (a); MS. *Raj Prashasti*, Canto V, v. 5; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 48 (a) :

"पुत्रोस्य कर्णसिंहाख्य सिरोजं मालवा भुवम्
घंघोरास्यं बभंज च दंड चक्रेति लुटनम्"

"पुत्र श्री अमरेश भूपतिमणे रग्रे सरोग्रे रणे
रुद्धो म्लेच्छ बलैः समंगर करैः श्री कर्णसिंहाभिधः
वीरेन्द्रैः महितः सिरोज नगर स्याद्धा करो न्यालनम्
दंडे तत्र चकार पार रहितं भूयो महा लुटनम्"

and Bhim inflicted a severe defeat on Abdullah at Ranpur, near Kumbhalgarh. Nevertheless he made his name by harassing the Rajputs in the hilly tracts of Mewar. Yet the emperor transferred him to Gujarat as his presence was badly needed in that quarter.[44]

The next commander to be sent to Mewar was Raja Basu[45] (1612 A.D.). He as a careless general made no headway against the Rajputs. He was suspected of being in alliance with the Rajputs.[46] He was recalled and his post was filled by Mirza Aziz Koka (1613 A.D.).[47]

But as there was no improvement in the situation Jahangir resolved to take the command in his own hands. On 7th Sep., 1613 A.D. the emperor set out in person and arrived at Ajmer on 8th Nov. He invested Khurram with the supreme command of the army unbinded for service against the Rana. Khurram had an extraordinary quick eye for enemy's weak position, and could see at once how best to utilise the opportunities for attaining his objects. Aziz Koka and Mirza Khan Azam were sent along with him. A reinforcement of 12,000 cavalry was also despatched to join him. Fidai Khan[48] was appointed as pay-

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44 *Maasir-ul-Umara*, (MS.), Vol. II, f. 25.

45 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), p. 123 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), p. 49.

Raja Basu was a Zamindar of Mau and Pathankot in the Bari Doab of the Punjab. During Akbar's reign he had broken into open revolts several times and had allied himself with the rebellious prince Salim. When Jahangir became emperor he presented himself in 1605 at the court. The new emperor raised him from position to position thereafter. (Beveridge : *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 392-394.)

46 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 47 (b). The Rana gave an idol of Krishna to Basu's priest and conferred grant upon him of the village Jhiliya, dated 9th of dark-half of Shravan, V.S. 1669 (1612 A.D.).

47 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 124 ; Beveridge : *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 329.

48 His other name was Hidayat Ullah. He was the youngest of the four brothers who became the Vakil of Mahabat Khan and was for a long time attached to the court and a recipient of royal favour. (Beveridge : *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 558-561.)

master of this army and other officers of repute were ordered to join the prince with their contingents. The prince and other deserving officers were honoured according to their position with tokens of rank and reward. He left Ajmer for Mewar on 17th Dec., 1613 A.D.[49]

Full of resources, gifted with a notable mastery over men, the prince showed his talent for command in successfully managing the expedition. He made out a plan so as to cover the whole of Mewar as a theatre of operation, and directed the movement of the entire army to a common end. As soon as he made successful progress in the interior, he instituted six military stations under different commanders : Jamal Khan Turki at Mandal, Dost Beg at Kapasin, Sayyid Kazi at Ontala, Arab Khan at Nahar Magra, Shihab Khan at Debari and some other general at Dabok. After occupying the above places, the prince proceeded to Udaipur. He established lines of communication between the various Mughal posts and posted his trusted followers at various key-points in Mewar. His pressure made the Rajputs run to their hilly shelters. But Khurram did not allow them any rest there too. He sent his four officers of repute at the head of contingent of troops to the hilly parts of the interior of Mewar. The first contingent was led by Abdullah Khan, the second was headed by Dilawar Khan, the third was under Sayyid Saif Khan and Raja Krishna Singh Rathor and the fourth was commanded by Mir Muhammad Taqi.[50]

The Rajputs, on their part, displayed great courage and vigour in the face of the grim spectre of defeat that stared them in the face. Kunwar Bhim repelled the march of the imperialist

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49 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 125 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 534-535 ; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, (Journal of Indian History, Vol. VIII, p. 180) ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.) p. 49 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 166.

50 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 133 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 536 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (Per. Text), Vol, I, p. 55 ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, pp. 278-279.

troops led by Taqi and bewildered them by night attacks.[51] At other points Dungar Singh, Mohan Das, Duda Sangawat etc. showed their gallant action and died a heroic death while defending the land.[52] But this was nothing before the superior military tactics employed by the prince. He was successful in capturing seventeen elephants including 'Alam Kaman', and sent them to the emperor on 11th March, 1614 A.D.[53] The prince's troops began covering themselves with glory in all quarters and every important part[54] of Mewar was slowly going down before his military organisation and power of diplomacy.

For Mewar this long and bitter struggle was an unrelieved calamity. Great atrocities were committed, none more notable than the destruction of population, demolition of temples, scattering of dead bodies and selling of their wives and children as slaves.[55] The picture of Mewar was, then, as we may rightly conclude, one of unspeakable misery of the countryside, of population wasted, of peasants rendered homeless and of alarming amount of unrest and disorder. It was a scene nothing

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51 *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, (Journal of Indian History, Vol. VIII, p. 180) gives the encounter by the Rana ; MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, ff. 16 (b), 17 (a).

52 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 108 (b).

53 *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol III, p. 535 ; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 127 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.) Vol. I, pp. 55-56 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama* (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 169.

54 MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 29 (a) records the establishment of eightyfour Mughal outposts. Kambu in his *Amal-i-Salih*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 58 gives some places which had fallen in the Mughal hands. Some of the names of these places have not been correctly given. The right names and their location have been provided in the brackets. They are : Khumbhalmir (Kumbhalgarh), Jhadal (Jhadol, 20 miles north-west of Udaipur), Anjanv, Angane (Ogna, 30 miles south-west of Kherwara), Chavand, Bijapur, Javar, Madavi (Madri, 5 miles north-east of Udaipur), Pavaddada (Padvada, near Jai-Samudra), Kavada (Kevada, near Jai-Samudra), Sadadi (Sadri, 40 miles east of Udaipur).

55 *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 535 ; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, (Journal of Indian History, Vol. VIII, p. 181) ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 278-279.

worse than a famine where the harvest was burnt, houses put to flames and immense danger inflicted upon property. It must have shattered the whole social order to its core.

The war had immediate effect in the interior organisation of the country. The whole structure within was loosening itself by the loss of veteran warriors.[56] At last, dismayed by the heavy odds arrayed against them, the nobles of Mewar, who saw their lands devastated, their villages burnt, their associates killed or wounded, urged the Rana to enter into a peace with the prince.[57] The Rana who too was tired of prolonged warfare sent Hari Das Jhala and Shubh Karan to Khurram with a proposal of peace.[58] The prince sent on the Rajput representatives to the imperial head-quarters at Ajmer in company of Mulla Shukrullah Shirazi and Sunder Das recommending that there was no surer way of earning the approbation of the Rana than by maintaining friendly relations with the Sisodias. Jahangir gave his consent to the proposal adding therein that the fort of Chitor was not to be fortified or repaired.[59] He also sent a farman with the impression of his own palm,[60] to be handed over to the Rana for the ratification of the terms.

As soon as the formal sanction had come, the prince informed the Rana of the approval of the terms[61] and sent his own men

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56 *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 535.

57 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 48 (a) ; MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 29 (a) (b).

58 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 134 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 536 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), Vol. I, p. 62 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, pp. 170-171.

59 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 134 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), Vol. I, pp. 60-61 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 172.

60 The original farman bearing the impression of palm is in the possession of the confidential office of the Maharana Udaipur, and is in a fairly good state of preservation.

61 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I. p. 134 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), Vol. I, pp. 60-61 ; MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 8 (b) ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 48 (b) ; MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 29 (b).

Shukrullah and Sunder Das to the Rana to hand over the farman. The terms were :

1. The Rana would himself come and wait on Khurram.
2. He would send his son, Karan, to the court.
3. He would, after the manner of other Rajas, be enrolled amongst the servants of the court and do service.
4. He would be excused from attending the court in person.
5. Chitor would be restored to the Rana on condition that it would not be fortified or repaired.
6. The Rana would provide a contingent of 1,000 horse.

The Rana accepted the terms and welcomed the Mughal officers. Next he proceeded to Gogunda[62] on 5th Feb. 1615 A.D. to meet the prince. The interview was perfectly cordial.[63] Greetings and offerings were mutually exchanged. Khurram honoured the Rana with a superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse with a jewelled saddle, an elephant with a silver housing. One hundred robes of honour, fifty horses and twelve

[62] *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 536 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.) Vol. I, p. 62 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 173 ; MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 8 (b).

[63] MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 48 (b). Muslim sources give a strange account of the interview. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 135 records : "The Rana clasped his feet and asked forgiveness for the faults." The writer of *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 536 says, "I as a Bakshi was present at the occasion and, therefore, I could clearly see that the Rana was making low salutation from the place the throne was visible from distance." These accounts are wildly improbable for kissing of the feet was not a recognised manner of paying respects to kings or princes among either the Mughals or the Rajputs. Moreover, the mode of salutation given by the Muslim writers was expected only from the low class of the Mughal officers with which the Rana was not familiar. Humiliation of the Rana is also out of harmony with the account of the rest of the behaviour of the prince. The Mughal princes were not boorish savages unaccustomed to magnanimous treatment of their enemies. Elaborate treatment and etiquette and not petty exhibition of vindictiveness was always characteristic of solemn scenes of peace-making. The writer of *Amarkavya* is right to mention that the greetings were cordial.

jewelled daggers were also given for the Rana's followers.[64] The Rana on his part offered sweets, superb dress, gold, jewels, seven elephants and an invaluable ruby.[65]

After the Rana's interview prince Karan, the heir apparent, also waited on Khurram, and received as a mark of favour a superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a dagger, a special elephant and a horse with gold saddle.[66] After the ratification of the treaty the prince left with Karan for Delhi where Karan was honoured by a Mansab of 5,000 and presents.[67] Then followed the interview of Jagat Singh (1615), son of Kunwar Karan who made presents to the emperor and received rich rewards from the emperor in return.[68]

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64 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 135 : *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 535-537.

65 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 135 : *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 537 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, MS., p. 49 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 48 (b).

Jahangir in *Tuzuk*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 140 gives details of the ruby thus : "The celebrated ruby of the Rana, which, on the day of his respects, he had made an offering of to my son, and which jewellers valued at 60,000 rupees. It was formerly in the possession of Rai Maldeo, who was the chief ruler of Hindustan. From him it was transferred to Chandrasen, who, in the days of his wretchedness and hopelessness, sold it to Rana Udai Singh. From him it went to Rana Pratap, and afterwards to Rana Amar Singh. As they had no more valuable gifts in their family, he presented it on the day that he paid his respects to my fortunate son Baba Khurram together with the whole of his stud of elephants, which according to the Indian idiom, they called 'Ghata Char'."

66 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 135 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 537 ; MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 8 (b).

67 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, pp. 135-144 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 535, 553 ; Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 14 (a) ; Imperial Farman, *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 239 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (P. T.), Vol. I, p. 176.

68 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 145 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 176 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 49 (a).

"राणा अमरसिंहेन्द्रो जहाँगीरस्य तुष्टये जगत्सिंहं प्रेषितवान्

The treaty of 1615 A.D. terminated almost a century old struggle between the two ruling houses. It must be regarded as a poltical triumph for Jahangir and a personal triumph for Khurram. The treaty between Amar Singh and Jahangir stands on a different plain from that of between a Mughal ruler and any other Rajput chief of Rajasthan. Whereas other Rajput rulers were required to attend the imperial Darbar in person, the Rana was exempted and it was agreed to the emperor that he would be represented by his crown prince. The humiliating practice of a matrimonial alliance, which other Rajput chiefs had entered with the Mughal ruling family, was not included in the terms of the treaty. These were the special concessions which were made to the Rana of Udaipur on account of his pre-eminent position among the Rajput rulers. An insistence on them too would have prolonged the century-old war between the Mughals and the Sisodias. The treaty not only accorded special treatment to the Rana but at the same time it reflected statesmanship and generosity on the part of Jahangir and his son Khurram.

Some casual observers find fault with Amar Singh for giving up the struggle and entering into a treaty with the Mughals. According to them the restoration of Chitor was hedged with conditions and, therefore, was worse than useless. The sending of a Rajput contingent at the Mughal court from Mewar was a humiliation to the people of the state and betokened subservience.

The above criticism is based on sentiment and ignores the sufferings to which Mewar had been subjected by the prolonged warfare. The country had to pay a price for peace, and that was the recognition by its ruler of the nominal suzerainty of the Mughals whose policy was not to interfere in the internal affairs of the vassal states of Rajasthan. The loss occasioned by the recognition of Mughal sovereignty was more than compensated by peace for two generations—a peace without humiliation, for the emperor did not insist on the presence of the Rana in the court or sending a 'Dola' to his harem. Those who condemn

..............जहाँगीरो मुहुस्तस्मै भूषणादि ददौ मुदा तुरंग
मातंग महादेशान् दत्वा गृहांप्रति गंतुं आज्ञा ददौ दिल्लीनाथः"

the treaty do not seem to realise consequences of the prolonged struggle. It was an unequal war in which eventually Mewar was bound to perish sooner or later. If, as the critics say, war was bound to recur, two generations of peace gave the Rana enough of strength to fight with a better chance of success. Hence barring sentimental satisfaction the treaty proved to be benefical for Mewar.

After the treaty of 1615 A.D. Amar Singh made an attempt to reorganise and reform the administration and to repair the ravages of the long war. He remodelled the administrative body by the appointment of Dungar Shah as the Chief Minister.[69] According to Tod he made a new assessment of the lands and regulated the sumptuary laws for court etiquette, dress and other formalities.[70] He also constructed a new palace at Udaipur which is still remembered by his name as 'Amar Mahal'. To him are ascribed the construction of fountains, baths and gardens.[71] His time of repose was also utilised in the direction of peaceful reforms of patronising learned men and grant of stipends for the cause of education.[72] He was also known during this period as giver of charity of land, horses and elephants to Brahmins and deserving persons.[73]

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69 MS. *Amaısar*, Canto I, v. 199 :

वरचित्रकूट दुर्गो नगरं नागौर भवनियो मार :
मंत्री डूंगरसिंहो धात्र्यां रत्नानि चत्वारि ॥१९९॥

70 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 409.

71 MS. *Amarsar*, Canto I, v. 390 :

ग्रीष्मे ऋतौ जल क्रीडां विधातुं
वनिता जनैः, प्रयाति भोग सामग्री
प्रबलोमरसिंह राट्' etc.

72 MS. *Amarsaı*, Canto I, v. 90.

73 *Ibid.*

यद्वारे राजधान्याः समद करिघटा बद्धपाश्वे र्थयद्भि :
लब्ध्वा वारैकदानं करि तुरग रथ ग्राम वर्षा सनादि
पश्चादाजन्मकालं तृणमिव गणयंतोखिलं चान्यभूयं
नैवस्याभ्यर्थयंते प्रमित सुख कला सब्दुधा···नितांतं ॥९०॥

Dhaya ka Devra Inscıiption, v. 5.

During his later days Amar Singh seems to have sunk in sloth and luxury. His court poet Jivadhar,[74] the author of *Amarsar*, describes his daily routine in a summer when he was engrossed in the company of ladies, in enjoyments of baths. His pastime during those days consisted of excessive hunting or enjoying animal fights.

Amar Singh died on 26th January, 1620 A.D. We cannot deny the credit which was due to him for his administrative schemes, economic reforms, institution of the ranks of the nobility, zeal for education and literature.

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74 MS. *Amarsar*, Sukh Varnan, vv. 390 to 405.

CHAPTER VII

SHAH JAHAN IN MEWAR: HIS POLICY AS EMPEROR (1620—1625 A.D.)

After the death of Amar Singh, his son Rana Karan Singh[1] ascended the throne of Mewar on 26th January, 1620 A.D. He was confirmed in his dignity and invested with his ancestral title of Rana, a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant by emperor Jahangir. Raja Kishan Das was sent to Udaipur to perform the dues of condolence and congratulation.[2] His reign was marked by internal and external tranquillity which Mewar enjoyed on account of the treaty of peace of 1615 A.D.

The new Rana utilised his time in attempting some administrative and economic reforms. He divided his country into Parganas,[3] and appointed Patels, Patwaris and Chaukidars for village administration.[4] He extended charity[5] to the needy

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1 He was born on the 4th of the bright-half of Magh, V.S. 1640 (7th January, 1584 A.D.) He was enthroned on the 2nd of the bright-half of Magh, V.S. 1676 (26th Jan. 1620 A.D.).

2 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.* (Per. Text), p. 289; *Iqbalnama,* (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 559: *Tarikh-i-Salatin Chaghtai,* Vol. I, (M.S.) f. 325 (b).

3 Various divisions of his parganas are clear from his Rampol inscription of Chitor, dated the 15th of the bright-half of Asoj, V.S. 1678, (20th Sep., 1621 A.D.). It refers to the parganas of Mandalgarh, Phutaro and Bhinaya. Similarly photograph of the plate No. 26/10B Jagir A.S. 95, preserved in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, refers to the inclusion of the village Jali in the pargana of Rampur.

4 *Vir Vinod,* Vol. II, pp. 269-271.

5 *Dhaya ka Devra Inscription,* v. 6.

"तस्माद्भूर भोज समान दानी श्री कर्णसिंहो धरणी सतेजः"

persons probably to attract the homeless persons of his dominions to return and establish themselves again in Mewar. He also constructed a huge palace at Udaipur and began the construction of its massive city walls.[6] These reforms stabilised the administration and developed a sense of security and safety in the hearts of the common people.[7] They also proved conducive to the progress of agricultural and commercial activity of the state. His scheme of construction of buildings and fore-walls of the city must have provided employment to the dislodged labour.

The Rana was also fortunate to live at a time when the relation between Mewar and the Mughals happened to be more intimate than at any other period before or after his reign. Such an intimacy grew out of the frequent meetings[8] between Khurram and Rana Karan. In the second place, the tie of intimacy became strengthened due to the rebellion of prince Khurram against his father.

When the Mughal garrison had fallen at Kandhar at the end of 1620 A.D., Khurram was ordered to proceed with an army to defend the frontier. But the prince showed reluctance to march towards Kandhar before the end of rainy season. He also demanded the fort of Ranthambhor for the residence of his family. He insisted on the governorship of the Punjab and a full command of the frontier forces. These demands were intended to be safeguards against the probable support of Shahryar's claim by the wilful queen, Nurjahan. The unwelcome suspicion of Khurram further aggravated the cause of dissension when fief of Dholpur, his Jagir in the Punjab and the command of the frontier were conferred upon Shahryar.[9]

In order to end the stalemate, Khurram expressed his humble submission through his trusted agent at the court, but all in vain. It was taken as an infliction of indignity. Finding, therefore, no other recourse than to rebel, he raised the standard

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6 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 269-271.

7 MS. *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, f. 26, v. 25 :

'मेवाड़ चैनस मंडिया'

8 *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III pp. 543, 553.

9 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 170-171.



Khurram's Prayer palace at Jagamandir
now called Kapuriya Baba.



Khurram's palace at Jagamandir

of revolt. He first of all marched towards Agra and plundered it. Next he marched further north, but was defeated at Bilochpur (March, 1623). Then he had to retreat to Mandu.[10]

Mewar lay on his way. Probably to get help or to seek shelter he approached Rana Karan Singh[11] with whom his relations were so intimate. It is a strange act of destiny that the prince who had encamped once at Udaipur with all the dignity and resources of an imperial conqueror, was seeking shelter in the same city against the imperial wrath.

The Rana must have been in a dilemma. To refuse to give shelter to a fugitive was against the rules of hospitality. On the other hand, if he gave protection to Shah Jahan who was a rebel against the Mughal throne, it would have amounted to an act of hostility against the emperor. But the Rana chose the former course, probably because he felt that Jahangir was old and invalid and was about to die, and that Shah Jahan who was the most capable among his sons was likely to succeed him as emperor. Whatever might have been the feelings of the Rana, he accorded a friendly welcome[12] to the fugitive prince and lodged him first in Delwara House and then in one of his water-palaces, Jagamandir, in Pichhola lake.[13] And though he refused

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10 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), pp. 348, 352, 357 ; *Tuzuk*, Vol. II, p. 258 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 172 ; Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, pp. 160, 163, 164 ; Beni Prasad : *Jahangir*, pp. 259-60.

11 *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 5, v. 13 ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 49 (b) :

"दिल्लीश्वर जहांगीरात्तस्य खुर्रम नामकम्
पुत्रं विमुखनां प्राप्तं स्थापयित्वा निजक्षितौ"
"ख़ुर्रम नामकं विमुखतां यातं जहांगीर ततस्त
द्वीरे विजितं पलायत (न) परं स्थापयामास सः"

MS. *Vanshavali*, f. 76 (a), No. 878 ; MS. *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, vv. 25-27 :

असुरांतणौ अभागि सो जगि भागि
जुवांणा रांणै आसंगी आ रहै......

MS. *Marwar ki Khyat*, p. 2498.

12 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 110 ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 270.

13 MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 49 (b) :

'मुक्ताहार महार्हभूषण गणैः श्रीकर्णसिंहोर्चित.'

to give the prince any open help which might lead to a war against Jahangir, he kept him safe and concealed his whereabouts from his enemies.[14] The guest appears to have enjoyed a calm and undisturbed life for about four months[15] and had the leisure to design in miniature form a sumptuous edifice with a lofty dome for his residence, the grand model of which was afterwards crystalised in the glorious Taj Mahal in the dear remembrance of his loving consort.[16]

Having passed some time at Udaipur, Khurram left Mewar for Mandu and then for the Deccan. Throughout this period of calamity and conflict he was ably helped by Bhim, the younger brother of Rana Karan, who after the treaty of Mewar lived at the Mughal court at the head of the Mewar contingent. His soldierly talent and bearings had pleased the emperor who had given him the title of Raja and Merta in Jagir. It seems that sometime before the opening of the rebellion of Khurram his services were transferred to him. He joined the prince with 500 horse at Nasik. It was Bhim who by the capture of Patna secured Bihar for Khurram. But at the battle of Damdama (1624), near the river Tons, the rebels were defeated and Bhim fell fighing like a warrior against the forces of prince Parviz and Mahabat Khan. Deprived of powerful Rajput support and hunted down from place to Khurram besought his father's pardon and crest-

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14 MS. *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, Nishani 27.

"कसीश्रा केकाणा साह सलेम विचारिश्रा
पेषे श्रसुराणा बल लगे नह करणसो
पल हेल षुमाणा छोड़े कस जहांगीर
साह रस कीधा राणा"

15 The account of Khurram's activity for some months of H. 1034, from half of March to half of August 1623, is not available in any of the contemporary writings. It may safely be conjectured that these four months were spent at Udaipur.

16 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 110. (b); MS. *Jagavilas*, f. 2 (b), v. 8 :

'साहजहां सरणे रहे तिन कीन्नी यह ठाम'
Vir Vinod, Vol. II, p. 272.

fallen and dejected chose a life of retirement at Balaghat.[17]

With the death of Jahangir (October 28, 1627 A.D.) came to a close the stormy days of Khurram's life. He left the Deccan to realise the long-cherished dream of succession to his ancestral throne. En route for Agra he passed through Mewar, where a proper reception was accorded to him at Gogunda on 1st January, 1628 A.D. Here the Rana saluted the prince as emperor and offered him a *nazar* and a sword in token of that recognition. Here, too, the weighing ceremony of the emperor designate's 38th birthday was performed. After the reception the Rana despatched his brother Arjun at the head of a contingent of troops to accompany the prince to Agra.[18]

Thus for the first time in its history Mewar took a keen interest in the internal affairs of the Mughal court. During this period Mewar and the Mughals were on terms of exceptional cordiality, and the personal friendship of the rulers of these powers contributed to the maintenance of good understanding between the two races, But Karan was not destined to enjoy the dignified status for a long time. He died in March, 1628 A.D., within two months of the succession of Khurram as Shah Jahan. He was succeeded by his son Jagat Singh.

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17 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, (Per. Text), pp. 357, 368, 378, 381, 382, 384, 385, 388, 389 ; *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, pp. 591-594 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), Vol. I, pp. 105, 110, 113 ; Elliot : *Tatimma-i-Wakiat-i-Jahangiri* Vol. VI, p. 394 ; MS. Nensi's *Khyat*, f. 9 (a) ; *Dhaya ka Devra Inscription*, v. 6 ; Elliot : *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. VI, p. 444.

18 *Iqbalnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 593 ; Kambu : *Amal-i-Salih*, (MS.), Vol. I, pp. 163-165 ; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, (Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, p. 17).

MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 29 (b) ; MS. *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 49 (b) :

"कृत्वा खुराम नामकं विरचयन्
सत् खडग वधं क्षमम्
त्तं दिल्लीशं कृतवान् तेन नितरां
सम्मानत्तो भूपति:"
"स्वर्याते यवनेश्वरो सविनयम्
भ्रात्राजुंने नान्वित्तम्"

Raj Prashasti, Canto 5, v. 14.

With the accession of Jagat Singh (1628 A.D.)[19] the cordiality between the ruling family of Mewar and that of Delhi suffered a set-back. Jagat Singh was an ambitious prince who seemed to have believed in turning favourable opportunities to his advantage. Finding Shah Jahan occupied in the internal affairs of his empire and in the suppression of the rebellion of Jujhar Singh Bundela (1628) he began interfering in the affairs of the neighbouring Rajput states. Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Devliya (Pratapgarh), who had been under the nominal suzerainty of Mewar, began to intrigue against the Rana by instigating the governor of Mandsor to attack his territory. The Rana called Jaswant Singh to Udaipur. When the latter and his son Maha Singh came to Udaipur, they were killed in a scuffle with the Rana's men. Hari Singh, the younger son of Jaswant Singh, reported the matter to the emperor who conferred Devliya upon Hari Singh and disaffiliated it from Mewar. The Rana was not satisfied with this arrangement and sent a Rajput party under Ram Siagh in 1628 A.D. to plunder the city of Devliya (Pratapgarh).[20] Having obtained partial success in Devliya the Rana determined to exert more effectively his influence over the neighbouring states of Dungarpur, Sirohi and Banswara on the plea that they had been once under the suzerainty of his house. He invested the supreme command to Akhai Raj to invade the town of Dungarpur in 1628. The Rajput commander was able to carry his arms through the town and brought immense wealth by plunder.[21] The success which attained this expedition emboldened the Rana to send his army to Sirohi. As a result of this expedition the capital town of Sirohi was ravaged and its neighbouring territory annexed to the Rana's territory.[22]

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19 *Jagannath Rai Insciiption, Epig. Indica*, Vol. XXIV records the formal ceremony of his accession on 28th April, 1628 A.D.

20 *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto V, vv. 20-21.

21 *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto V, vv. 18-19 ; *Jagannath Rai Inscription*, v. 54 ; MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, f. 42 (b), v. 7 :
'वैशाषे निजसेन गिरिपुरं प्राधूंसयत् भूमिपः'
MS. *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, v. 30.

22 *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 5, v. 25 :
'अक्षेराजं सिरोहीशं वश्यं चक्रे ग्रहीद् भुवम्'

Next the Rana despatched Bhag Chand,[23] his Minister, on an expedition against Banswara. The general reduced the state to utmost straits and carried death and destruction in that country for six months. Driven to extremities Samar Singh of Banswara hastened to the feet of the Rana, begged his forgiveness, accepted the humiliating condition of recognising his suzerainty and offered a sum of rupees two lakhs as tribute.[24]

These activities of Jagat Singh displeased the emperor. But the Rana in order to appease Shah Jahan's wrath sent to Agra in 1633 A.D. Jhala Kalyan of Delwada with a present of an elephant and written request for pardon. The emperor sent him back after sometime with a robe of honour and a horse for Kalyan and a costly robe of honour. two horses with gold and silver trapings, an elephant and a necklace for the Rana.[25] He also despatched with Bhopat Ram of Dharyavad a contingent[26] to the Deccan and sent Jhala Kalyan to Mandu with words of congratulation to the emperor on his victory in the Deccan.[27] In order to divert the emperor's attention Jagat Singh continued following the policy of sending assistance to the Mughals engaged in war in Deccan and exchanging presents and congratulations on important occasions.

In the year 1643 A.D. Shah Jahan with the intention of proceeding against the Rana came on a pilgrimage to Ajmer. The Rana sent Kunwar Raj Singh with presents to wait upon the emperor. The prince was greeted with honour at Jogi-ka-Talab, near Ajmer.[28] According to *Badshahnama* and *Tarikh-i-*

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23 He was a Bhatnagar Kayastha, grandson of Sada Rang. The Rana conferred upon him ten villages, ten horses etc. at the time he was deputed on his duty. (Vide *Bedvas Inscription*).

24 *Bedvas Prashasti* ; *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto V, vv. 27-28 ; *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, v. 45.

25 Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 8.

26 *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 270-371.

27 Munshi Devi Prasad : *Shah Jahannama*, Vol. I, p. 194.

28 Lahauri : *Badshahnama*, (Per. Text), Vol. III, p. 345 ; Zahid Khan : *Shah Jahannama*, (MS.), p. 162.

Salatin-i-Chaghtai[29] the forces actually reached Chitor but the Rana by sending presents averted the danger.

On the whole the Rana maintained a kind of balance between his personal ambitions and the suzerainty of Delhi by asserting his authority, whenever the emperor's attention was occupied elsewhere and offering submission when the imperial weight seemed to be dangerous. This policy of the Rana has been briefly summarised by his poet Raghunath[30] in the words that Jagat Singh always entered into friendly alliance with a powerful enemy and subdued his weak foes.

However, a greater part of Jagat Singh's reign passed in uninterrupted tranquillity. He devoted his time to the cultivation of the peaceful arts, especially architecture. The water palaces in the Pichhola lake like Jagniwas, Jagmandir and Mohan Mandir are mostly among his notable constructions.[31] The Jagadish temple, the biggest temple of the state, was built by him and completed by the year 1652 A.D.[32] The Rana made his name by his acts of charity,[33] granting of land,[34] founding of inns[35] and performing religious rituals of high order.[36] His patronising of learned men[37] served the cause of education. He took steps in the direction of dispensing with

29 Elliot : *Badshahnama* of Inayat Khan, Vol. VII, p. 103 ; MS. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, (S.B.L.), Vol. II, f. 42.

30 MS. *Jagat Singh Kavya*, Canto 7, v. 4 :

'वलवानपि शक्तेन नृप: संधि विधायस:'

31 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 5, v. 26 ; *Jagannath Rai Inscription*, Slab 2, v. 34.

32 *Jagannath Rai Inscription*, Colophon.

33 MS. *Jagat Singh Kavya*, Canto 3, v. 5 :

'भवदेवदान विनोदै द्दिशिदिशि देवेश राजते'

34 Copper-plate grants in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur recently discovered in large number prove the fact. They are : No. 410, 477, 683, Photo Album of S. 1684-1707 etc.

35 MS. *Jagat Singhastakam* by Mohan Bhatt, v. 7 :

'प्रथम धन प्रवाहै कार्यं धर्मशाला'

36 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 5, vv. 37-38.

37 Madhu Sudan, Mohan Bhatt, Raghunath etc. were his contemporaries.

equal justice according to the Hindu Shastras.[38] His policy of the realisation of state demand was based on the principles laid down in Dharm Shastras.[39]

The relation between Mughal India and Mewar appears to have been so harmonious that the Rana found leisure and freedom to build large number of temples outside his dominion[40] and proceed on a pilgrimage to Onkareshwar in V.S. 1704.[41] His mother. Jambuvati, also performed a holy pilgrimage to Dwarka, Mathura and Prayag,[42] the first instance of its kind when a royal lady could travel in the Mughal territory without fear. The idea of war had appeared to have been so distant that Jagat Singh issued a general order[43] to his officers in which he exempted forced labour and all kinds of military countribution that the villages had to make to the state.

During the last part of his reign he had the proud satisfaction to repair[44] the ruins of Chitor, an act of breach of faith which induced Shah Jahan to invade Mewar during the reign of his successor. Jagat Singh died in October, 1652 A.D.

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38 MS. *Jagat Singh Kavya*, Canto 7, v. 48 :
'दंड्येषु दंड वितरन् यथावत् पराशर प्रोक्त मतानुसारी'

39 MS. *Jagat Singh Kavya*, Canto 7, v. 51 :
'प्रोक्तः पुराणेषु नरेश्वराणां यत्कोश संवर्धनमेव धर्मः'

40 Adinath temple of Narlai, Jodhpur of V.S. 1686.

41 *Onkareshwar Inscription* ; *Jagannath Rai Inscription*, Slab I, vv. 63-84.

42 Copper-plate No. 477, dated 4th of the dark-half of Bhadrapada, V.S. 1709, in the Commissioner's Office records her pilgrimage to Prayag.
MS. *Jagat Singh Kavya*, Canto 3, v. 22 refers her pilgrimage to Dwarka, Gokul and Mathura.

43 Photograph of a Patta No. 26/240, Misal, Samvat 95, in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 15th of the bright-half of Magh, V.S. 1707.

44 *Jagannath Rai Inscription*, v. 51 ; Zahid Khan : *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, p. 239.

CHAPTER VIII

RAJ SINGH[1] AND THE MUGHALS ; REACTION AND WAR (1652—1707 A.D.)

Raj Singh succeeded to the throne on 10th October, 1652 A.D. with plan[2] to raise the status of Mewar. His character and confidence were worthy of men destined to leave an impression many succeeding ages.[3] To begin with, he, in pursuance of his father's policy, hastened to complete the repairs of the walls of Chitor[4] so as to put it in proper defensive position. He gave shelter and protection to Garib Das, a fugitive prince[5] of his house who had come away without permission from the court of Shah Jahan, where he had held a mansab, and appointed him his chief adviser.

These activities of the Rana could not be tolerated by the emperor. He decided to take steps against the Rana and left

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1 He reigned from 10th October, 1652 A.D. to 22nd October, 1680 A.D.

2 MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 10th, v. 11 :

'सामाद्युपायार्जित चित्तयुक्तो'

3 MS. *Raj Sinhastaka* of Mukand, v. 6 :

'चरित्रं चिरकीर्ति चित्रं पवित्रम्'

MS. *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, f. 43, v. 72 :

"उजला हुश्रा हिंदु सकल मेछा श्रणमेला समुप सिरताज श्राज संसार सिरि राणा"

4 MS. Zahid Khan : *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, (S. B. L.), p. 239 ; Elliot : *Shah Jahannama* of Inayat Khan, Vol. VII, p. 103.

5 MS. Zahid Khan : *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, (S. B. L.), p. 230 ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. I, p. 728.



Rana Raj Singh

for Ajmer on 24th September. 1654. A.D. with a view to personally supervise the operations conducted in Mewar. From Ajmer Sadullah Khan was despatched with 30,000 troops towards Chitor with instructions to demolish the repairs of the fort which were made against the terms of the treaty. The Wazir was also instructed to overrun the Rana's territory and inflict suitable chastisement on him in case the Rana did not tender his submission.[6]

The imperial general accompanied by several nobles and mansabdars reached Chitor on the 5th of Zilhijja devastating cattle and crop all along in the territory of the Rana.[7] The Rana contemplating no regular offensive sent Madhu Sudan Bhatt and Ram Singh Jhala to wait on the Wazir and dissuade him from his destructive designs. When the Wazir and the Rana's men met there ensued a discussion between the parties regarding the strength of their respective sides.[8] This interview instead of simplifying the affair complicated it very seriously. The furious Sadullah Khan ordered his men to pull down the walls of Chitor. Whereupon a large number of workers, with pick-axes and spades overthrew and undid the repairs and demolished the battlements. Leaving the fort in ruins Sadullah Khan returned to Ajmer.[9]

In the meantime the Rana who knew when to wait and when to give way sent word through his physician, Govind. to prince

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6 MS. Zahid Khan : *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, (S. B. L.), p. 239 ; Elliot : *Shah Jahannama* of Inayat Khan, Vol. VII, p. 103 ; *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 6, vv. 11-12.

7 MS. Zahid Khan : *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, (S. B. L.), p. 239 ; Elliot : *Shah Jahannama* of Inayat Khan, Vol. VII, p. 103.

8 *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 6, vv. 13-21 ; Rajput source further adds that Sadullah Khan blamed the Rana for giving protection to Garib Das, to which the Rana's men replied that for a daring Rajput there was no difference in the court of Delhi and that of Udaipur. This probably made the Wazir furious.

9 MS. *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, p. 240 ; Elliot : *Shah Jahannama* of Inayat Khan, Vol. VIII, p. 103.



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7 MS. Zahid Khan : *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, (S. B. L.), p. 239 ; Elliot : *Shah Jahannama* of Inayat Khan, Vol. VII, p. 103.

8 *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 6, vv. 13-21 ; Rajput source further adds that Sadullah Khan blamed the Rana for giving protection to Garib Das, to which the Rana's men replied that for a daring Rajput there was no difference in the court of Delhi and that of Udaipur. This probably made the Wazir furious.

9 MS. *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, p. 240 ; Elliot : *Shah Jahannama* of Inayat Khan, Vol. VIII, p. 103.

Dara to secure pardon for his acts from the emperor.[10] Abdul Karim and Munshi Chandra Bhan were sent to Mewar to negotiate a settlement. A cordial reception was given to them. They made a settlement with the Rana who promised to send his son to the court and give up repairing the fort. The Rana had also to hand over the border territory of Mewar to the Mughal officers. Then along with Abdul Karim, the emperor's representative, were sent the prince and Rao Ram Chandra of Bedla to the emperor in Nov., 1654 A.D. The prince on reaching the camp of the emperor at Malpura was duly honoured by the name of Sobhagya Singh. Then he was ordered to leave after six days with rich rewards of a 'Sarpech' of pearls and 'Balaband'. Ram Chandra and other nobles were given horses and robes of honour.[11]

The renewed submission was painful to the Rana's sense of honour who is said to have pledged that as long as he did not take revenge himself on the emperor he would not feel his existence justified.[12] He began to look patiently for a suitable opportunity. Very soon the opportune moment came when Shah Jahan fell ill in Sept., 1657. It was a signal for war among his four sons, each one of whom was already hatching plans to seize the throne for himself. The entire energy of the central government headed by Dara was utilised to thwart the plans of his three brothers, Shuja, Murad and Aurangzib.[13]

At this juncture Aurangzib, the cleverest of all his brothers, began his correspondence with Rana Raj Singh and sought to establish cordial relations with the Rana by means of exchange of presents and rewards. This correspondence throws a flood of light on Aurangzib's design to seize the throne by seeking Rajput assistance from Mewar. It also shows the attitude of Raj Singh

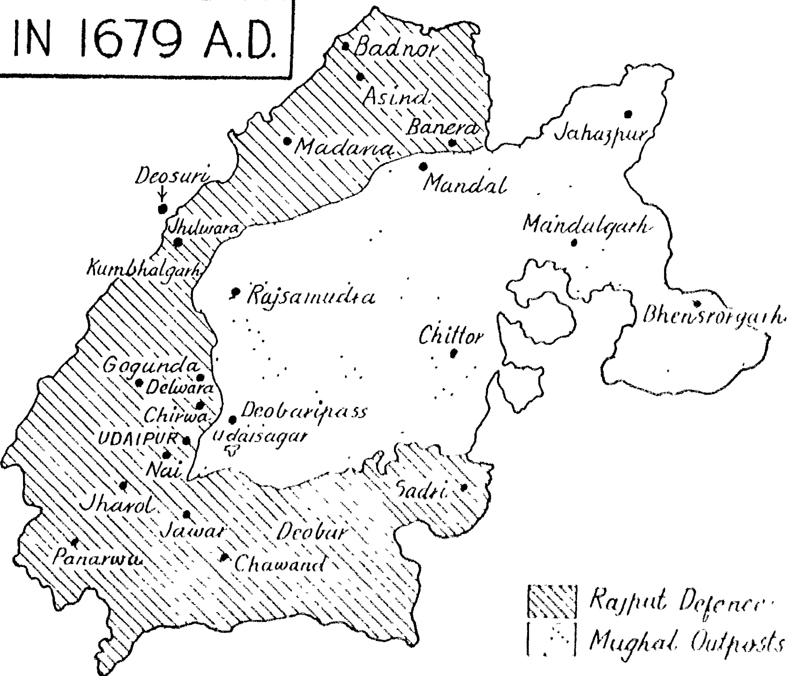
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10 MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 10, vv. 7-9.

11 MS. *Insha-i-Chandra Bhan*, ff. 3-14, 14-15, 15-18 and 18-19 ; MS. Zahid Khan : *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, (S. B. L.), p. 240 ; Elliot : *Shah Jahannama* of Inayat Khan, Vol. VII, p. 104 ; *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 6, vv. 22-26.

12 MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 10, v. 10 :
'यावन्न कुर्यान् प्रतिकर्म शत्रो तावन्न चान्तर्वपुषस्तु जातं'

13 *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 10, vv. 13-14.


MEWAR IN 1679 A.D.
Badnor
Asind
Banera
Madaria
Jahazpur
Deosuri
Mandal
Maindalgarh
Jhilwara
Kumbhalgarh
Rajsamudra
Bhensrorgarh
Chittor
Gogunda
Delwara
Chirwa
Deobaripass
UDAIPUR
Udaisagar
Nai
Sadri
Jharol
Jawar
Deobar
Panarwa
Chawand
Rajput Defence
Mughal Outposts

was preparing to fight the imperial forces. But Raj Singh was in doubt about the issue of the contest among the Mughal princes ; hence instead of agreeing to commit himself and joining Aurangzib at this stage, he tried to seize the border parganas of Mewar which were in Mughal hands. Under the veil of conducting the ceremony of 'Tikadar', a hunting expedition in the enemies' land, he marched with all speed and strength on 2nd May, 1658 A.D. against the Mughal outposts.[19] Dariba was the first place which received the Rana's successful blow. Mandal was the next target which yielded Rs. 22,000. He further marched against Banera and Shahpura. This expedition also yielded Rs. 48,000. Then fell Kharvad, Jahazpur, Sawar and Phuliya.[20] When the Rana's camp was at Kekri,[21] in Ajmer-Merwara, he received a letter from Dara who requested Raj Singh's help against Aurangzib. This was perhaps at the end of the month of June when Aurangzib defeated the imperial army at Fatahabad. Raj Singh who was confident of Aurangzib's victory and followed the policy of worshipping the rising sun sent back the envoy with the message that for him all the sons of Shah Jahan were alike and that he wished long life to the emperor. Then sending his minister Fateh Chand Kayastha against Toda he turned towards Malpura which he looted for nine days.[22] Tonk, Chatsu and Lalsot were also plundered.[23] While encamped on the bank of Banas he heard of the victory of Aurangzib at Samogarh and so reverted back to his capital by the end of June and sent his son Sobhagya Singh (Sultan Singh)

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[19] MS. *Raj Vilas* of Man Kavi, Canto 6, v. 1 :

'सजिसेन राणश्री राजसीह असुरेशधरा रुद्धन अपीह'

MS. *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, v. 92.

[20] MS. *Raj Prakash*, vv. 25-28.

[21] MS. *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 10, vv. 20-26.

[22] *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 7, vv. 29-36 ; MS. *Raj Prakash* of Kishore Das, vv. 92-110 ; *Deobari Inscription*, v. 24 :

"दग्धं मालपुराभिख्यं नगरं व्यतनोदिह
दिनानां नवकं स्थित्वा लुंटनं समकारयत्"

[23] *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 7, vv. 36-42.

and his brother Ari Singh with presents and congratulations for the victorious emperor.[24]

In the meantime the war of succession had ended in the victory of Aurangzib on July 21. 1658 A.D. The greeting party met the emperor at Salimpur when Aurangzib was in pursuit of Dara. Mutual gifts were exchanged and a farman was issued on the name of the Rana entitling him to hold the parganas of Gayaspur, Dungarpur. Banswara etc. yielding two crores of Dam. The Rana's status was also raised to six thousand 'zat' and six thousand 'sawar'.[25] Dara who was closely pursued by Aurangzib's forces in the Punjab and Gujarat reached Sirohi. He sent another letter[26] to Raj Singh, dated 15th January, 1659 requesting help and praising his generosity. The Rana who was already in alliance now with Aurangzib paid no heed to the letter. In order to establish his authority over the lost provinces by the right of farman referred to above, he sent his forces against Banswara, Devliya and Dungarpur. The rulers of the states recognised his sovereignty.[27]

In the year 1660 A.D. the Rana took a bold step in helping Charumati[28] of Rupnagar who, with her characteristic pride, had spurned the proposal[29] of marriage with Aurangzib. As

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24 *Alamgirnama*, (Per. Text), pp. 166-167 ; MS. Zahid Khan : *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama*, (S. B. L.), p. 240 ; *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 8, vv. 1-3 ; *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 10, vv. 49-53.

25 *Alamgirnama*, (Per. Text.), p. 194 ; Aurangzib's Farman, (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 425-432) ; Nensi's *Khyat*, pp. 76, 77 (Nagari Pracharini).

26 Dara's letter, (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 432-433).

27 *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 8, vv. 9-11 ; 16-25 ; *Bedlas Inscription*.

28 She is also known as Rupmati.

29 It appears from the MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, ff. 31 (a) and 32 (b) that Charumati's betrothal was arranged by her father without her knowledge. One of her sisters informed her about the betrothal.

Deobari Inscription, vv. 25-26 also states that Rup Singh, the father of Charumati, promised to give the hand of her daughter to Aurangzib.

the crisis became more pressing, the princess finding in Raj Singh the solace of her hope, wrote an urgent letter[30] appealing to the chivalrous Rana to hasten to her help. As the letter breathed in every line the warm breath of affection and depicted the piteous feelings of a Hindu girl anxious to save herself from an alliance with a non-Hindu, the request could not be rejected. He hastened to Kishangarh, married her and brought her to Mewar.[31]

Probably this marraige was not liked by Aurangzib who must have felt the union of Kishangarh and Udaipur dangerous to his power. The Rana was ordered by the emperor to explain the cause of his marriage. He sent a letter with Udai Karan Chauhan stating that such marriages were quite common and he had no motive to damage the Mughal interest. In this letter he also requested the emperor to give him back the parganas of Bhusawar and Gayaspur, which were taken back from him. For what reason they were taken back one does not know for want of definite evidence. It appears that the emperor did not take notice of the matter seriously and cordial[33] relations continued as the frequent visits of Kunwar Lal Singh and exchange of presents show.[34]

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[30] In *Raj Vilas*, Canto 7, vv. 31-35 the text of the letter runs as follows :

"चत्रकोट धणी अव तू पुरवै हरि ज्यौं सुर खंभनि लाज रखी
अबलायो रहूँ आस मुखी बक हंसनि क्यों घर वास करै
न रहे पुनि कोकिल कागर से सस सिंहनि ज्यों मन देखि सहै
नर नायक तो सम और नहीं सरणागत वत्सल तू ज सही
प्रभु कै सुलभि तुहि पाय परै कर जोरि इति अरदास करै।"

[31] *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 8, vv. 22-30 ; *Raj Vilas*, Canto 7 ; MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 3 (a) ; MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, ff. 31, 32 (a) (b).

[32] Rana's letter to Aurangzib, (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 440-442).

[33] It is wrong to deduce, which has been done by causal observers, that Charumati's marriage became a cause of the war between Aurangzib and Raj Singh which in fact came long afterwards due to some other reasons.

[34] *Alamgirnama*, (Per. Text), pp. 341, 434, 454, 564, 565.

By the establishment of goodwill between the Mughals and the Sisodias, Raj Singh had a free hand to devote himself solely to the internal affairs of his state. He granted lands[35] in the years 1658-1675 A.D. specially in the border areas which were disturbed during his early expeditions. In 1662 A.D. the Minas of southern part of Mewar, who rose in rebellion, were subdued and law and order was established there.[36] Sometime in 1667 A.D. their leader Pitha was given a village Jadoli (District Sahara) in order to develop good sense among the Bhils.[37] He rewarded Kesri Singh and Ratan Singh by the grant of Jagirs of Parsoli and Salumber respectively for their loyal services during the recent expeditions.[38] Partly for the sake of relieving the famine-stricken people and partly to facilitate agriculture and mainly perhaps for spreading his name far and wide like the ancient Chakravarti rulers, he began excavating an extensive lake near Rajnagar in 1662 and named it Raj Samudra. The opening ceremony of the lake was performed on the 14th January 1676 with utmost pomp and distribution of gold, silver and jewels to the Brahmins. To the neighbouring states of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Dungarpur, Rewa etc. an elephant and two horses each were sent. The palace of Sarva Ritu Vilas and the Ranga Sagar lake were constructed at Udaipur about 1668 A.D.[39] The inauguration ceremony of the Raj Samudra lake was attended by 46,000 people from outside, and the construction work, leaving aside expenditure on ceremonials

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35 A copper-plate inscription No. 419 recently discovered in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur dated 9th of the dark-half of Asad, V.S. 1729 (1662 A.D.) records the grant of Bhavali in Mandal District to Bhan.

Photograph No. 26/10 B Jagir of the same office records the grant of village Kalyan in Jahazpur in the year V.S. 1715 (1658 A.D.).

36 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 8, vv. 31-33.

37 No. 94, Jagir Samvat 91 in the Commissioner's Office. Udaipur recently discovered.

38 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 453-454.

39 *Raj Vilas*, Canto 8, ff. 102 (a) 111 (b); *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 22.

and charities, amounted to one and a half crore of rupees.[40]

While Raj Singh was busy with erecting works of public utility, Aurangzib was engaged in measures calculated to the propagation of Islam. After his grand Coronation (June 1659), he issued a number of ordinances to enforce Islamic rule of conduct in his dominions. In the 11th year of his reign (1668) he forbade music at his court and banished singers and musicians. On 9th April, 1669 he issued a general order to demolish temples and destroy schools and idols of the infidels.[41] It is pointed out by Ojha[42] that Raj Singh took up the cause of Hindus and defied the orders of Aurangzib at this stage. This view seems to be erroneous. While the above series of laws and ordinances were passed at the Mughal court, Raj Singh was not stirred in the least. He continued sending regular embassies to the Mughal court[43] and remained busy with his internal affairs, constructing lakes, palaces, observing religious rites and sending presents to important rulers of Rajasthan who were vassals of Aurangzib. There is no evidence to show that he protested against the Islamic legislation of the emperor. Nor did the imperial regulations create any kind of enmity between the Rana and Aurangzib. According to *Raj Ratnakar*, f. 131(a), Kunwar Ari Singh went to offer Shradh to Gaya without being molested which goes to prove that there were cordial relations existing between the Mughals and the Rajputs in 1676 A.D. The disaffection and war came after ten long years.

Aurangzib reimposed the Jaziya[44] on the Hindus on the

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40 *Raj Prashasti*, Cantos, 8 (vv. 46-50), 9 (vv. 21-30), 12 (vv. 9-36), 14 (vv. 13, 22-27, 37), 17 (v. 9), 18 (vv. 1-15), 19 (v. 27), 20 (vv. 48-49), 21 (v. 22).

41 Sarkar : *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 265-266.

42 Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. II, p. 547.

43 Ram Singh and Madho Singh went to the court and received honour, and robe of honour for the Rana was sent. (Vide *Alamgirnama*, (Per. Text), pp. 661-767.)

44 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 174 ; *Muntakhab* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 255 ; MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, p. 466.
It appears that the motive of the emperor in introducing Jaziya was to attract Hindu subjects to embrace Islam in order to get easy exemption from Jaziya.

2nd April, 1679 A.D. This act was no doubt protested against by the Hindu citizens of Delhi and its environs, but it had little effect on the relation of the Rana with the emperor. After that day the Rana sent Jai Singh with Indra Singh Jhala of Sadri and Garibdas, the chief priest of the Rana, to the imperial court. They were well received by Aurangzib and were sent back with robes of honour for them and a necklace, an elephant, a horse and robe of honour and a farman for the Rana on the 30th April, 1679 A.D. The prince with his party reached Udaipur on the 26th May, 1679 A.D. after visiting the holy places of Brindavan and Mathura.[45] Thus to ascribe the war between Raj Singh and Aurangzib to the re-imposition of Jaziya by the latter is entirely incorrect. Raj Singh was not so unwise as to provoke hostility of the mighty Aurannzib without adequate personal reasons.

Tradition says that the Rana sent a letter of protest to the emperor against the reimposition of Jaziya on the Hindus. Three copies of this letter have come down to us, one preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, the second in the Bengal Royal Asiatic Society, and the third in the Maharana's confidential office at Udaipur. Orme[46] ascribes the authorship of this letter to Jaswant Singh of Marwar, R.A.S. London MS. 71, to Shivaji and A.S.B. MS. 56 associates it to Shambhuji. Col. Tod[47] and Kaviraj Shyamal Das,[48] however, were of the opinion that it was written by Rana Raj Singh. After examining various authorships Sir J.N. Sarkar[49] has reached the conclusion that on internal evidence and autobiographical details it appears that the letter was written by Shivaji and not Raj Singh. Examining closely the contents I feel that the letter referred to Raj Singh's authorship is a

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45 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 175 ; *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 22, vv. 1-9 ; Aurangzib's Farman in Confidential Office of the Maharana, Udaipur, (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 457-459.)

46 Orme's *Fragments*, p. 252, Notes XCIII ff.

47 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 442, note 2.

48 *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 462.

49 *Modern Review*, January, 1908, pp. 21-23.

copy of the letter of Shivaji. The contents of the copy are like the brief notes of Shivaji's complete letter. The so-called Raj Singh's letter is an abridged copy of the original. A careful perusal of the letter will make the point clear. The style of the letter is much different in form from the usual style of the Ranas who used to write letters in their manner, had peculiar form of address and conclusion, giving the name of the writer and the addressee. But the letter in question does not bear any date and the name of the Rana by whose order it was written. Besides no contemporary Rajput sources of Raj Singh's time have given any reference to Jaziya or the so-called protest of the Rana against it. Had there been any such protest the local annalists who have given minute details of other events would not have left this unnoticed. I feel inclined to take this letter as an abridged copy of that of Shivaji to Aurangzib, who (Shivaji) had every reason to protest and who mentioned the event of his escape in the opening line.

It does not, however, mean that Raj Singh was inactive throughout this period. The acts of Aurangzib which were contemplated to overthrow Hinduism in India must have pricked him. He must have been aware of the risings of the Jats (1669), Satnamis (1672) and Sikhs (1675) and the Marathas which must have indicated to him that one day or the other Mewar would have to face the brunt of a Mughal invasion. Though he was not in a position to throw an open challenge to Aurangzib's authority—which would have been suicidal, he began to make preparation for the defence of the dominions. Thinking that it was of no use to repair the fort of Chitor he took up the defence of the interior of Mewar. Deobari, a pass just 10 miles east of Udaipur, was closed with huge walls and a door-way in 1674 A.D.[50] Trusted warriors were stationed in the interior Girwa and grants of free-rent land were made to them. Two pattas[51]

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50 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 8, vv. 26-28. Deobari Inscription on the Door-way of 5th of the bright-half of Shrawan, V.S. 1731.

51 Photographs of the Pattas No. 26/10B, Jagir A.S. 95 of Commissioner's Office, of 15th of the bright-half of Jaistha, V.S. 1734 and 8th of dark-half of Kartika, V.S. 1734 respectively.

recently discovered in Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated 1677 A.D., record that Ram Singh and Bhim were given land in Sakrod and Ragheda (Girwa) respectively and were allowed to enjoy them free of rent. He took up the title of 'Vijayakatakatu', the victor of battles.[52] which shows that he was preparing for war. The long contemplated war at last came in Nov. 1679 due to the narrow-minded policy of Aurangzib.

Maharaja Jaswant Singh, who was in charge of the Mughal posts in Khybar and Peshawar district, died at Jamrud on 10th December, 1678.[53] As soon as Aurangzib was informed of his death, he at once seized Marwar and placed it under direct Mughal rule. In order to overawe any possible Rathor opposition, he himself moved towards Ajmer on 9th January, 1679 A.D. He directed the military operations, appointed Mughal officers like faujdar, qiladar etc. Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was instructed to occupy the country, demolish temples and destroy whatever was good and useful there. By 2nd April, 1679 Marwar was brought fully under the Mughal control and the emperor left Ajmer for Delhi. Sometime after Marwar was temporarily given to Indra Singh Rathor in return of 30 lakhs of rupees.[54]

Why Aurangzib adopted such an attitude against a faithful servant of the Mughal empire is a serious question which demands our attention. As a staunch imperialist Aurangzib had no consideration for a friend or foe. One who had not spared his father and brothers would not spare any vassal if he was likely to prove harmful to the Mughal interest. Jaswant Singh had proved himself insubordinate and acted against Aurangzib more than once. His death gave the emperor an opportunity to revenge himself. He asked the deceased's family to come to Delhi. On the way, at Lahore, two posthumous sons were born to his two widows. One of them died and other named Ajit Singh came to Delhi with

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52 The Patta of the same office, dated 15th of the bright-half of Jaistha, V.S. 1734 (1677 A. D.).

53 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 171.

54 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 261 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), pp. 175-176.

giving shelter to the Rathors. He mentioned with approval the Rana's past good behaviour, he threatened that he would demolish Chitor and carry fire and sword into his dominion. But the Rana who had decided on backing Ajit Singh could not be dissuaded in giving up his firm determination. He sent polite answers[68] but betrayed no fear of Aurangzib's power, for he was confident of the united strength of the Sisodias and the Rathors.

When the Rana could not be brought round, Aurangzib despatched Tahavvur Khan on 27th October, 1679 with instruction to occupy Mandal and the neighbouring parts of central Mewar. Hasan Ali Khan[69] was instructed to ravage the Rana's country and clear the way for the progress of the imperial forces. Prince Muazzam and prince Muhammad Azam were ordered to join the imperial forces with their contingent from the Deccan and Bengal respectively. Orders were despatched to Muhammad Amir Khan, Subedar of Ahmadabad, to take his position between the territories of the Rajputs and Ahmadabad. Prince Muhammad Akbar was sent with a large force to pursue the Rana.[70]

In order to meet the crisis the Rana despatched the royal families of Mewar and Marwar to the distant village of Nenwara[71] amidst the hills of Bhomat. The civil population of the country was ordered to retire into the hilly tracts. The whole of central Mewar was evacuated and laid waste. Udaipur was also depopulated.[72] In order to meet the onslaught of the enemy the Rana called a meeting of the leading nobles and officers of the state. On some minor details opinions differed, but Garibdas, the head-

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68 *Raj Vilas*, Canto 10, vv. 1-22 ; ff. 137-140.

69 He was the governor of Ratanpur. There were few officers of his time who were equal to him in goodness. He was eminent for many qualities and was unique for his genius and humanity. He used to distribute food freely and used to serve Shaikhs and Faqirs without reserve. MS. *Massir-ul-Umra*, (Vol. I, p. 209).

70 *Maasir-i-Alamagiri*, (Per. Text), pp. 193, 195, 198 ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 262, 263.

71 MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 111 (b) ; *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 465.

72 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 263. MS. *Sisod Vanshavali*, f. 32 (a).

AURANGZEB'S INVASION
1680 A D.
(DEOBARI CAMP)

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Bodla
Bhawana
Dewáli
Pulán
Sobhagpurá
Parra
1857
1898
Sundarwas
Ar
Sarai
UDAIPUR
246
Madri
Madri
Madri
Madri
RAJPUT CAMP
DEOBARI
Deobari Gate
Berwas
Berwas
Pacholi
Pacholi
Kánpur
Kalarwas
Matum
Telakhera
AURANGZEB'S CAMP
Gurli

proceed towards Udaipur through Raj Nagar. The emperor's presence at Deobari was sufficient to threaten the Rajputs who left the defence of the pass and retired into the hills. Aurangzib acquired an easy victory over Deobari on 4th January, 1680 A.D. and crushed the feeble opposition of a few guards that were left there.[77]

Hasan Ali Khan who had started towards Udaipur with 7000 picked men in search of the Rana could not fare well. He was lost in the rugged defiles of Girwa which made the emperor anxious about his welfare. However, he was traced out by Mir Shihabuddin, a smart Turani Lieutenant. Finding the task arduous for a small army a strong reinforcement under prince Azam, Khan Jahan Bahadur and Yaktaz Khan was sent for his help. This new force helped the general in capturing grain and other materials of Rana's camp on 23rd January. All methods of slaughter that the ingenuity of the Mughal generals could devote were employed, 173 temples, several habitations, fields, fruit farms were destroyed and many children and women were killed in and around Udaipur. There was a tough fighting at the temple of Jagannath, in the heart of the city. The titanic efforts of the ruthless invader damaged several priceless treasures of Hindu art sculptured on columns and main sides of the temple.[78]

After a few days' stay at Deobari Aurangzib returned towards Udai Sagar lake where three temples were hurled down. From here the imperial camp marched towards Chitor and demolished sixty temples. Thinking that the Sisodia power was crushed by the occupation of Udaipur and Chitor, and the destruction of several villages and temples and the Rana's escape into the

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[77] *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 186 ; *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 10, v. 88, f. 147 (b).

An inscriptive evidence, dated 14th of the bright-half of Posh, V.S. 1736 of the cenotaph at Deobari records that Gor Singh fell fighting here with his men.

[78] *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 263 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 186 ; *Raj Vilas*, Canto 10, vv. 105-112 ; MS. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, Vol. II, f. 122.

hills, Aurangzib delegated the command of Mewar army (12,000) to prince Akbar. He left Mewar and reached Ajmer on 22nd March, 1680.[79]

The emperor's retirement to Ajmer was a signal for the Rajputs to retaliate. By following their old tactics of guerilla warfare they began to cut the supply of the Mughal outposters and made their existence extremely difficult. Nearly all the roads and passes were in the hands of the Rana which made communication difficult.[80] Kunwar Amar Singh made desperate attempts to harass the imperial forces.[81] Jhala Pratap of Karget gained a great success against prince Akbar and wrested two elephants of the imperial army which he offered to Raj Singh.[82] Bhim Singh, one of the Rana's sons, marched through Idar, Vadnagar and Gujarat. During the course of his campaign he destroyed thirtyone mosques and transformed them into temples.[83] Jai Singh with a large army made a surprise attack on Chitor and caused great slaughter in the Mughal army.[84] The unshaken courage, energy and night raids of the Rajputs made it difficult for the Mughal outposters to maintain their position.

The contemporary local accounts of the Rajput retaliation might have been exaggerated, but the conditions under which the Mughals had to fight in Mewar go to prove their authenticity to a large extent. The comparatively small force of 12,000 that was left under Akbar was practically insufficient for opposing the Rana's army which was more than four times[85] in number to that of the Mughals. As Akbar failed to justify his position

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79 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text). p. 190 ; MS. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, Vol. II, ff. 122 (b , 123 (a).
80 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), p. 264.
81 *Raj Vilas*, Canto 12, v. 1.
82 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 22, v. 21 ; MS. *Raj Vilas*, Canto 14.
83 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 22, vv. 26-29 ; MS. *Raj Vilas*, Canto 15.
84 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 22, vv. 30-38 ; MS. *Raj Vilas*, Canto 18.
85 MS. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, p. 466. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 263-264, states that there were 25,000 Rathors fighting under the Rana. If the Rana's number is also taken as equal to that of the Rathors the entire force goes up to 50,000.

before the strong organisation and the energy of the Rajputs he was removed from his post and prince Azam was given the command of Chitor on 26th June. 1680.[86]

In this phase of the war from November, 1679 to June, 1680, although the Mughals demolished a large number of temples, destroyed houses and fields, and killed numberless persons, occupied Udaipur and Chitor and certain other outposts, they failed to shake the Rajputs over their defence points from which they carried successful raids and surprise attacks. Their tactics of cutting the supply practically reduced the Mughal outposters to the position of insecurity. Plainly speaking the combined efforts of these scattered postholders was improbable. So much was the threat of the local assault, says a letter[87] of the prince to the emperor, that captain after captain shrank from his duty of taking offensive and the Mughal troops declined to enter any pass and make any advance.

Henceforth the Mughals adopted a plan[88] by which the hills of Mewar might be entered. Akbar who was removed from Chitor was posted in Marwar and was instructed to proceed to Deosuri via Sojat, Nadol, Godwar and Narlai. Prince Azam was ordered by the emperor to march through Deobari pass and occupy the interior hilly tracts. Prince Muazzam was required to pass through Raj Samudra and take possession of that part of land. This method was adopted with a hope to deprive the Rana of his mountainous positions. But princes Azam and Muazzam failed (July 1680) to achieve their object due to strong Rajput resistance led by Rawat Rukmangad and Udai Bhan. The heroic action of Maha Singh, Kesari Singh and Ratan Singh inflicted great loss on the Mughals.[89]

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86 MS. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, Vol. II, f. 124 ; Sarkar : *Auıangzib*, Vol. II, p. 346.

87 Adab, Nos. 662, 666, 733, 734 (*Sarkar*, Vol. III, p. 344.)

88 *Raj Pıashasti*, Canto 23, v. 24.

"घट्टत्रयस्य मार्गस्य दृष्ट्यर्थं प्रेषिता भटाः"

Maasir-i-Alamgiri, (Per. Text), p. 195 ; MS. *Tarikh-i-alatin-i-Chaghtai*, Vol. II, p. 125.

aj Vilas, Cantos 11, 12, 13 and 14.

Prince Akbar's progress in Marwar was not smooth due to the surprise attacks of the Rathors. However, by regular stages he was able to reach Deosuri[90] (19th Nov. 1680). In the meantime Rana Raj Singh had died on 22nd October, 1680 A.D. and the command of opposition was taken by Jai Singh who was installed on the Gadi at Kuraj (Sahara district) the same day. When the approach of the imperial army was reported to him the new Rana sent his brother Bhim Singh and Bika Solanki to check the progress of the Mughals.[91] On 22nd Nov. there was a tough fight between the Rajputs and the Mughals resulting in immense slaughter on both the sides. However, before the superior strength of the Mughal army the Rajputs had to give way and Jhilwara fell into the Mughal hands on 22nd Nov.[92] But the Mughal progress was marred by Ganga Singh's[93] surprise attack on Chitor. He captured nine elephants of the Mughals and presented them to the Rana. Perhaps to check further progress of the Rajput retaliation in the north prince Muazzam sent a Farman on 27th Nov., 1680 A.D. (No. 3 in Dr. Raghubir's collection) to Dolat Singh of Shahpura to remain watchful and loyal to the Mughal Government. Dayal Shah, one of the ministers of the Rana, ravaged Malwa, Sarangpur, Devas, Sironj, Mandu, Ujjain etc. and caused everything that fell in his way to be consumed by the flames of fire (Dec. 1680).[94] Thus the repeated retaliation and the physical condition of the Kumbhalgarh district checked the further progress of the Mughals who could not make any successful headway beyond Deosuri and Jhilwara. The Rajputs too in their attempts to drive away the Mughals from their country could make no remarkable progress.

When the Rajputs failed to avert the danger which was lurking over their country for about a year and when the country was running short of provisions, their leaders Rana Raj Singh

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90 *Raj Prashasti,* Canto 23, vv. 9-15 ; *Raj Vilas*, Canto 18, v. 1.
91 *Raj Vilas*, Canto 10, v. 14 ; *Raj Prashasti.* Canto 23, v. 15.
92 *Raj Prashasti,* Canto 23, v. 15.
93 *Raj Vilas*, Canto 14, vv. 7-39.
94 *Raj Vilas,* Canto 17.

and Durgadas adopted a clever plan[95] of opening negotiations with prince Muazzam. But their first overture failed due to the warning of Nawab Bai, the mother of Muazzam, who had secretly written to her son not to allow any of the vakil of the Rana to see him in connection with the peace talks. But the mission had a successful influence on prince Akbar who had failed to impress his father during his days of command in Mewar and Marwar. An ambitious prince and aggrieved commander he lent easy ears to the proposal of the Sisodias and the Rathors to instal him on the throne of Delhi.[96] But when everything was arranged, Rana Raj Singh died on 22nd Oct., 1680 A.D. This brought the matter to a close.

The skirmishes at Deosuri and Jhilwara suggested to both the parties the futility of prolonging the war. The daily desertion of four hundred men in the Mughal camp due to the shortage of supplies of foodstuff and other provisions made Akbar renew peace negotiations with the Rana.[97] It was ultimately settled through Rao Kesari Singh that Akbar as emperor would honour the prestige of the Rana and restore to him that part of Mewar which was in the Mughal possession. On his side the Rana promised to place half of his force at the disposal of the prince to fight against his father.[98]

On the successful conclusion of the negotiations Akbar crowned himself as emperor at Nadol[99] on 11th January, 1681 under 'the armed strength of the two greatest Rajput clans, the Sisodias and the Rathors', and Tahavvur Khan was created the Amir-ul-Umra. Aurangzib was informed of this plan, before it had crystalised, by prince Muazzam, but the emperor did not

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95 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 264 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 195.

96 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), pp. 196, 197.

97 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 23, vv. 30-31 :

"अन्नाभावा न्नित्यमेव लोकानान्तु चतु. शतं
अथाकबर आयातो मिलनं कर्त्तुमुद्यत:"

98 Adab Nos. 756, 762 and Akbar's letter to Shambhuji (Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 356.)

99 *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1938, pp. 355-360.

believe it. After he had ascertained the authenticity of the news, his first thought was one of nervousness, as his forces were scattered and engaged in the various parts of his empire. Letters of the call were now sent and within a few days Shahabuddin Khan, Hamid Khan and prince Muazzam and Azam reached Ajmer with their contingents. The emperor in a short time equipped himself with a large force to meet Akbar and the combined strength of the Sisodias and the Rathors.[100]

Akbar did not take speedy action against his father, rather he wasted full fortnight in making either preparation or probably indulging in indolence and pleasure. His movement from Mewar to Ajmer to attack his father was so slow that the emperor got time to complete his preparations. This lethargical move led to many a desertion from the prince's side, only 30,000 loyal Rajputs stood by him. The emperor with all his power left Ajmer and encamped on 22nd January, at the field of Doraha, close to the modern Sardhana station of Western Rly. Akbar also marched to Kurki[101] and when the emperor advanced four miles further south, the prince approached the imperial camp, and there remained a distance of only three miles between the two opposing forces.[102]

Before the decisive day of the 26th January dawned Aurangzib was successful in depriving Akbar of his right-hand man, Tahavvur Khan.[103] Next he had a letter addressed to Akbar praising him for trying to entrap the Rajputs, and had it dropped near Durgadas' camp. The letter fell into Durgadas' hand who rushed to Akbar's camp for its verification. But entrance to his camp was refused by the eunuchs. The Rajputs who were also informed of the letter ran to Tahavvur's camp who was also

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100 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 198 ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II, pp. 266-268 ; MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, f. 112(a) (b).

101 Kurki is 24 miles south-west of Ajmer and nine miles north-west of Pisangan.

102 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), pp. 200-201.

103 By the influence of Inayat Khan, the father-in-law of Tahavvur, he was called to the emperor's camp and put to death.

found missing. Akbar's sleep and Tahavvur's absence were misunderstood as the prince's deliberate pre-arranged plan to entrap the Rajputs. In a fit of rage they robbed his baggage and abandoned him three hours before dawn, only a band of 350 Rajput horse remained with him. In the morning when the prince awoke he found with great despair that a great change had taken place in the brief hours of that ruinous night. He was rendered without men and money. It was a miserable end of his fortune. His dream of the occupation of his ancestral throne waxed away. In the pathetic solemnity of the scene the prince followed by a small band of faithful followers left the field. After thirty-six hours the Rajput force including Durgadas which had left the field in a strong conviction of prince Akbar's betrayal, came back to rejoin the prince after the truth about Aurangzib's stratagem had become known. But it was too late to take any offensive against the imperial power. Flight was the only alternative. Escorted by five hundred[104] faithful Rajputs under Durgadas, he issued forth from Mewar, crossed Jhadole, Chhappan, Salumber and reached Dungarpur. Here he made a halt for four days and then, passing through Banswara, Narbada, Khandesh, reached Konkan in Shambhuji's protection (11th June, 1681), changing routes and avoiding imperial outposts and officers.[105]

Though Akbar's rebellion failed disastrously, it indirectly gave relief to the Rana by diverting the Mughal attention towards Marwar and the whereabouts of Durgadas.[106] Next

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104 As regards the number of Rajput escorts authorities vary. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* gives 300 or 400 ; while Rajput source 500 which is also accepted by Sir J. N. Sarkar (*Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 367).

The route of prince's escape as given in *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol. II. p. 270 is Lahore, Multan and then the Deccan. This does not seem convincing because it is a long way which no refugee would adopt.

105 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 202, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, (Per. Text), Vol, II, p. 275 ; MS. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vat*, ff. 112-113 ; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 250-252 ; Sarkar : *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, pp. 358-368.

106 *Maassir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), p. 179.

Aurangzib felt compelled to move towards the Deccan where prince Akbar had taken shelter. The Maharana who was not as ambitious and enterprising as his father Raj Singh longed for a cessation of warfare. The desolate condition of the country also required that the period of war should come to an end. Aurangzib too in order to devote himself to the pursuit of Akbar and to the Deccan war was not much particular about the subjugation of Mewar. Therefore he gave the sole authority of the Mewar campaign to prince Azam.[107]

The Rana, it seems, opened negotiations sometimes after the flight of prince Akbar. A farman[108] from Aurangzib to the Rana dated 23rd Feb., 1681 indicates that the peace talks had begun even earlier than this date. Shyam Singh, a representative of the Rana, and Dalel Khan and Hasan Khan met frequently to work out the terms of a treaty.[109] Rana Jai Singh also paid visits to the prince in this connection.[110] Ultimately both the parties agreed on the following terms :[111]

(1) The Rana would cede to the empire the parganas of Mandal, Pur and Badnor in lieu of the Jaziya.

(2) The Mughals would withdraw their forces from Mewar.

(3) The country of the Rana's ancestors would be restored to him.

(4) The official recognition of his title would be accorded and a command of five thousand would be conferred upon Jai Singh.

On 24th June the final ratification of the terms was made on the banks of Raj Samudra lake. The prince was entertained on the bank of the lake with his followers consisting of Dalel Khan, Hasan Ali Khan, Rathor Ratan Singh of Ratlam, Hada

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107 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 252.
108 Farman of Aurangzib (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 651-652).
109 *Raj Prashasti*, Canto 23, vv, 32-33.
110 *Ibid*, v. 34.
111 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (Per. Text), pp. 207-208 ; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Per. Text), Vol. II, p. 606 ; MS. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, Vol. II, f. 127.

Kishor Singh etc. The Rana putting the town of Rajnagar in the charge of Jhala Chandra Sen started in a procession consisting of his leading nobles and 1000 horse. The band of seven horse on each side of the Rana was guarding the person of the Rana. When the party reached the place of meeting, the Rana cordially received the prince with his priest Garibdas on one side and his chief minister Bhikhu on the other. A large number of the visitors were also present at the occasion when the exchange of presents and robe of honour etc.was made. The function was celebrated with perfect dignity becoming to the parties. The Rana then returned to his camp with great satisfaction.[112]

The Rana, it seems, wrote a letter of congratulation on this occasion which was acknowledged by the emperor by sending a farman[113] (18th July, 1681) in which he wished that the Rana should abide by the terms and remain loyal to the Mughal empire. He expressed the hope that the Rana would fulfil all his duties to the Mughal throne and would never attempt hereafter to go against Aurangzib's empire. He also honoured the Maharana by sending a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant and other valuable things with Muhammad Naim.[114]

From the day of the treaty to the death of Jai Singh which occurred in.1698 A.D. there was complete peace between the emperor and the Rana. The Maharana utilised the remaining period of his reign in looking after his internal affairs and construction of public works (1691) like Jai Samudra, perhaps one of the biggest of the artificial lakes in the world. His successor Rana Amar Singh (1698-1707) did not defy the Mughal authority. In response to the imperial request he sent contingent[115] of the troops to participate in Aurangzib's war in the Deccan.

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[112] *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya*, Canto 23, vv. 34-58.

[113] Farman No. 4 is in the collection of Dr. Raghubir Singh which he had obtained from Shahpura.

[114] MS. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai*, Vol. II, p. 128.

[115] Vazir Asad Khan's letter to Amar Singh, dated 19th Dec., 1700. (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, p. 746.)

Zulfiqar Khan's letter acknowledging the contingent, dated 15th July, 1704. (*Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 751-752.)



Jai Samudra

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

No ruling family in our mediaeval history ever put up so consistent and stubborn a resistance against the establishment of foreign rule in the land as did the Sisodias of Chitor. The early rulers of this dynasty took part in the movement of checking the expansion of the Arabs into Gujarat, Kathiavad and north-western Rajasthan. Next they measured swords with the early Turks who after their initial success of establishing Delhi as their capital pursued for centuries the agressive policy of reducing the whole of India to submission. It was inevitable that the ruling family of Mewar should have come into conflict with the expansionist tendencies and religious activities of the Turks and to nullify the fulfilment of their ardent dream. About the time when the Sultanate of Delhi in the time of the Lodis was about to bid low, the Mughals came to our country and their leader Babur sought to inflict a fresh foreign yoke on the neck of our ancestors. Babur's immediate successors considered it a pious duty to bring the whole country under their rule. By this time most of the ancient indigenous dynasties that had measured swords with Arabs and Turks had disappeared and those who remained were so weak that they shrank from the task of fighting for their religion and country. The Sisodias, on the other hand, in pursuance of the tradition bequeathed to them by their forefathers, kept the spirit of resistance alive for many a generation and offered themselves a sacrifice for freedom against the onslaught of the Mughals. In this respect the history of Mewar is unique.

The story of Mewar's resistance against the Mughals is a splendid record of martial and glorious deeds and noble actions

of the rulers and people alike. The admiration one feels for their heroic character enhances as one reflects that that tiny state had no adequate resources and had to fight against odds. The causes of the strength that Mewar showed in defending herself, therefore, deserve to be examined.

The most potent fact that kept them engaged for generations in a war against foreign power was the force of the tradition of resistance referred to above. Belief in the sublime purity of their descent and in the mission they were called upon to fulfil their old institution, inherited from Bapa and Khuman,[1] gave the rulers and people a sense of self-respect and confidence which supported them in many a dark hour of their history.

Moreover, the concentration of power in the hands of one man—the head of the state—since times immemorial made for strength, specially when the ruling family produced a series of remarkably able warriors in succession as was the case in Mewar. The rulers enjoyed great respect among their people. The words uttered by them were termed as order of 'Shree Mukh', the pious mouth, and the Rana was dignified as 'Shreeji', that is, a great being. This traditional halo and glory handed down from father to son stirred the people to support the Rana and the latter to continue the resistance against his enemies. The dynasty with little break produced one hero after another who were interested in the martial traditions of the race. Bapa, Khuman, Kumbha, Sanga, Pratap and Raj Singh were men of conspicuous ability and strength of character. The advent of each marked the renewal of the aggressive power of the state.

These traditional, racial and ideological factors were intensified by the existence of defiles, forts, hills and reservoirs in the country which bred in the people love of freedom, made the defensive operations comparatively easier and inspired confidence and strength. The varied aspects of Mewar's natural

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1 Even to this day the bardic poems are repeated ending with the phrase 'बापा तणा बिरदावली' i.e., the Glory of Bapa. Similarly Khuman has become a name not of a particular Rana but for all Ranas.

resources imparted corresponding peculiarities to the popular character and made its inhabitants able to share the turmoils of life. The population[2] of Mewar right from high caste Brahmins down to the Bhils imbibed a spirit of pride which powerfully contributed to hold the country together, to provide the government, always pressed by costly wars, probably with a revenue, and to maintain public order and confidence during the days of adversity.

Equally important was the existence of organised feudalism with patriotic nobles always ready to lay down their lives for the glory of the ruling dynasty and the country. This institution, though a negation of political authority elsewhere, was one of the most powerful institutions in Mewar. The social structure was like an ever-flowing stream of personnel and could supply the needs of war at a minute's call.[3]

But of all the causes which prolonged the existence of Mewar one of the most potent was the religious unity and fervour of the fighting class due to their association with the cult of Shiva, and their faith in Ekaling, the supreme deity of the house of Guhilots as defined and determined by Bapa under the guidance of Harita.[4] This sense of religious unity

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2 From the time of Sanga to Raj Singh we come across a large number of fighters besides Rajputs who belonged to various castes inhabiting the country. The names of Garibdas (Brahmin), Bhama Shah, Dayal Shah (Vaishya), Punja and Rama (Bhils) are the instances. I have seen swords, shields, bows and arrows in some of the poorest families of Mewar preserved as relics of glory of their ancestors who must have taken daring part in one or other warlike engagements.

3 There was a class of a force called 'Jamit' whose readiness for fighting was proverbial. 'Sirane suti Jamit', that is, 'Jamit' is always ready at the pillow.

4 *Ekaling Mahatmya*, Chapt. 10, vv. 28-20 :

भावेता मनुजौ तत्र मेदृपाटे उभावपि
हारीत वाष्प नामानौ चरेतुस्तावितस्ततः ।।२८।।
सिद्ध साधक धर्मज्ञौ गुरुशिष्य स्वरूपिणौ ।।२९।।
तत्रतेपे तपो ब्रह्मन् हारीतो मुनिरुत्तमः ।
बाष्पः शुश्रूपणंचक्रे हारीतस्य शिवस्यच ।।३०।।

gave them hope and courage through all the dangerous periods of trials.

But these conditions could not hold good under all circumstances and in all times. The flower of Rajput chivalry which was engaged in war for about seven hundred years could not go on fighting for ever and betrayed signs of decay, even in time of Pratap. Some notable desertions such as those of Sakta, Jagmal, Sagar and Megh Singh proved baneful to its cause. The prolonged warfare also led to the destruction of able warriors and administrators in every generation and adversely affected the ruling class and the general public alike. After Raj Singh we notice a kind of general degeneration in the fighting class of Mewar which ultimately could not offer the desired opposition to the wanton aggression of the Marathas who freely ravaged their country and drained the resources of the state.[5] The weakness of the later Ranas also enabled the feudal vassals to establish petty despotism. in the later days, depriving the peasant proprietors. in whom Mewar abounded, of their hereditary rights in the land.[6] The wars brought with them ravaging effects on civil population in which men, cattle and corn-fields were the greatest sufferers.

After the treaty of 1615 and the establishment of peace between Mewar and the Mughals an attempt was made at harmonising their interests. The frequent visits of Mewar's crown princes or those of their younger brothers and leading feudal lords and officers to the court and camps of the Mughals, and the ambassadorial visits of the Mughal officers to the Rana's court and their mutual exchange of presents led to the establishment of good relations between the two peoples. These contacts influenced Mewar in many respects—political, social, literary and economic.

The position of the Ranas during the period under review remained as before. They were regarded as the Dewans of their

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5 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 545. My paper on Bapu Sindhia's invasion on Mewar in the proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission, 1945.

6 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 563-580.

family deity—Ekaling—and conducted all state business in the capacity of Dewan.[7] They were the chief executive, the military and the judiciary authority in the state. But they had to pay due deference to the will of the leading nobles of the state. The quitting of the fort of Chitor by Udai Singh during Akbar's invasion was in accordance with the general opinion of the main Sardars of Mewar. The dethronement of Jagmal and the installation of Pratap show that the opinion of the nobility was effective on occasions of importance. The unquestioned ascendency of the nobility in Mewar was the result of the prolonged wars during the period of our study.

The prolonged wars also adversely affected the civil administration to a great extent. The old council[8] of advisers referred to in the Sarnath inscription of Allat (953 A.D.) had disappeared. The officers concerned in the conduct of military affairs appear to have been retained. The *Ekaling Prashasti*[9] records Rana Kshetra Singh and Mokal, two important (military) officers, one 'Durgadhiraj', or chief-keeper of the forts, and the other 'Skandhavarik' or the commander of the forces. In Raimal's time there is a reference to Pancholi Himmat,[10] the minister, who conducted the work of the civil administration. From Sanga to Pratap's time there is no definite mention of the former two posts of Durgadhiraj and Skandhavarik but we can safely assume that these must have existed because of the almost continuous warfare during the period. Of course, there are records to show that a minister in charge of the civil administration existed in the reign of these Ranas. Shah Girdhar Pancholi was the chief minister of Sanga.[11] Shah

[7] In local correspondence the phrase 'Dewanji Adeshatu' was generally used for the Ranas.

[8] The council consisted of Amatya, Sandhivigrahik, Akshapatalik, Vandipati and Bhishakadhiraj.

[9] *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, vv. 35, 44 :
'दुर्गाधिराजं समरभुविपरा' ; 'स्कंधावारमपार वारणगज' etc.

[10] Copper-plate No. 185 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 15th of the bright-half of V.S. 1557.

[11] Copper-plate No. 26/144 (2) in the Commissioner's

Madhu[12] was the minister of Rana Vikramaditya. Udai Singh's minister was Shah Asha,[13] while that of Rana Pratap was Shah Bhama.[14] The prolonged warfare made it necessary that these ministers should also look after military department and control the forces in the fields of battle. Bhama Shah, as we have seen, earned fame for his exploits in Gujarat and Malwa. It was Rana Amar Singh who, after the treaty with Jahangir in 1615, attempted the reorganisation of his civil administration. His court poet Jiwadhar[15] says that he had several ministers who were designated as 'Amatyas.' Dungar Shah was his chief minister who enjoyed the designation of Mukhya Mantri. It seems that the Rana had separated civil from the military administration. Hari Das was the 'Daladhikari' or the commander-in-chief of Mewar forces which consisted of infantry, cavalry, elephants, chariots and artillery. In the structure and working of the military administration there had occurred a radical change from the time of Jagat Singh I (1628-1652). It was divided into departments. According to Man Kavi,[16] his ministers were desig-

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Office, Udaipur, dated the 1st of the dark-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1582.

Photograph No. 26/144 (2) in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur, dated the 1st of the dark-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1582.

12 Photograph No. 26/47 of the same office of 30th of dark-half of Vaisakh, V.S. 1589.

13 Photograph No. 26/369 of the same office dated the 1st of the bright-half of Kartik, V.S. 1600.

14 Photograph No. 26/133 of the same office dated the 5th of the bright-half of Bhadrapad, V.S. 1633.

15 MS. *Amarsar*, First Adhikar, vv. 199 and 259, ff. 17(a), 22(b) and colophon.

मंत्री डुगरसीहो धान्यां रत्नानि चत्वारि
हस्त्यश्व पादातरथैन भूरं विलोक्य राज्ञामरसिंह नाम्ना ।
सिंहोपमस्शौर्य गुणेन सम्यक् कृतोधिकारी हरिदास झाला: ॥

16 MS. *Raj Vilas*, Canto 2, vv. 67-72, f. 33.

प्रोहित मंत्रिवर प्रवर हुकमदार हुजदार ॥६७॥
दलपति गनपति दंडपति गजपति हयपति सार ।
रथपति पयदलपति प्रगट हैं जिन्ह अति अधिकार ॥६८॥

nated as Mantri-Praver or the chief minister, Purohit or the chief priest, Dalpati or the commander-in-chief, Dandapati or the chief justice, Koshtapati or the treasurer and Kotwal. Besides these there were departmental officers of lower grades as, Gajpati (the officer in charge of the elephants), Rathpati (the officer in charge of the chariots), Paidalpati (the infantry officer) and Kotharagarik (the store-keeper). There were reporters, Hukamdars and others. Departmentalisation seems to have been due to the Mughal influence. Though most of the officers enjoyed titles that had come down from ancient times, the titles of some of the officers such as Kotwal seem to have been borrowed from the Mughals. The words like Hukamdar and Paidal (pati) were borrowed from the Mughals. Raj Singh and his successors seem to have made no change in the system of administration.

The small state of Mewar from earlier times, as it seems, was a unit by itself and was known as Desh. The Mewar Desh[17] included 'Gram' or 'Gaon', 'Janapada'[18] or 'Nagar' and 'Durg'[19] or forts. Before the Mughal contact there was no other intermediary divison between the Desh and Gram, Nagar and Durga. The Rana's central administration was directly connected with

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कोशरु कोठागार पति शापकतर भूप ।
पटताषा नव षंडके नर जह नव रूप ।।६९।।
सुश्रूषिक पार्श्वम गनक लेषक लिपन अभूत ।
मर्द्दिक संधिक यष्टिधर अनुज दुवारिक दूत ।।७०।।
श्रीपति सेठ सुसार्थपति सौदागर सगर्व्व ।
मागध चारन कवि गायन गन गंधर्व ।।७१।।
वादित्रिक मौष्टिक विविध । पायक वैध प्रसिद्ध ।।७२।।

17 *Jawar Inscription*, V.S. 1554, v. 12 :
'मेदपाटेश्वर देशे'
Amarsar, Deshvarnan and First Adhikar, v. 201 :
'यद्देशो वहुनगरा'

18 *Mahasati Inscription*, V.S. 1331, v. 6 :
'सौन्दर्यैकनिकेतनं जनपदः श्रीमेदपाटाभिधः'

19 *Amarsar*, First Adhikar, v. 199 :
'वरचित्रकूट दुर्गो'

'Grams' and therefore he was also designated as 'Grammani',[20] the chief of the Grams. The management of forts was under 'Talaraksh',[21] who was a hereditary officer. The local administration of a village or town was conducted by Panchayats.[22] After Akbar's occupation of Chitor in 1568 A.D. it was made the 'Sarkar' of the Mughal empire and the Parganas were established in the Mewar territory under the Mughal rule.[23] After the treaty of peace of 1615 A.D. when the entire part of north, north-east and central Mewar, which was under the Mughals, came back to the Rana, the Mughal administration units were retained and became a legacy from the Mughals. *Rampol Inscription* of Chitor (1621) refers to the Parganas of Mandalgarh, Phularo and Bhinavada. The copper-plates[24] of Rana Jagat Singh and Rana Raj Singh refer to villages as being under various Parganas of Rajnagar, Pur, Arya, Kanera, Rashmi, Sahada, Kapasin and Badnor. We do not know exactly what the designations of the Pargana and village officers were : but it is clear from two Pattas[25] of Jagat Singh and Raj Singh's time that Pargana officers were Rajputs of respectable position who used to discharge both civil and military functions within their areas. It also seems from the same sources that Bolava (escorts), Sarapiya (kalals) and Dohalya (free-land owners) were entrusted with the work of despatching messages and collecting contributions for war from villages.

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20 *Abu Inscription, Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 16, vv. 46, 52 :
'तेजसिह सुतः सराप समरे क्षोणीश्वर ग्रामणी'

21 *Chirva Inscription*, V.S. 1330, v. 30 :
'श्री चित्रकूट दुर्गे तन्हारक्षांयः पितृक्रमायाना'

22 *Raj Vilas*, Canto II, v. 131, f. 39 (b) :
'कोटवालि सुचौंतरे उंच, बैठे कोटवाल करै पल पंच ।
निवेरहि सत्य असत्य सुन्याऊ, बहुचर वृन्द निसेवत पाउं ॥

23 *Ain-i-Akbari*, (Per. Text), Vol. I p. 286.

24 Copper-plate Nos. 505, 640, 449 and Photos of the plates Album 1684-1704 in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.

25 Plate No. 26/240 of Jagir Misal Samvat 95 in the same office.

The lands in the villages were divided into two divisions.[26] Those lands which yielded crop only during winter were classed as 'Siyalu' or the winter-crop land, and those which yielded crop during summer were called 'Unalu' or the summer-crop land. After Rana Udai Singh it seems that this sort of division of the land was given up as no copper-plate grant of Rana Pratap, Amar Singh or Karan Singh refers to such a division. Rana Jagat Singh revived the old system of division of land in 'Siyalu' and 'Unalu' with further reforms of dividing them strictly according to the capacity of its production. Nearly all his grants of land show the division of land into two classes and his grants distinctly mention the areas of the kinds of land given away in Jagirs. As for example, a copper-plate[27] records the grant of 200 bighas of land. Along this there is a mention that out of 200 bighas (both in words and figures) 160 bighas is a winter-crop land and 40 bighas is a summer-crop land. This classification had been due to the Mughal influence.

The lands were measured in Bighas and fifty Bighas were grouped into a 'Hal'.[28] As regards the state demand from the cultivators we have no definite records. But from the account of Rana Jagat Singh's poet[29] we reach at the conclusion that 1/6th was the state's share according to the prescription in Hindu Shastras. Of course this poor share was insufficient to finance schemes of public works and military administration. The state income was supplemented by the imposition of other taxes and duties as given below.

The income of the state was derived from several sources. The cultivators had to offer a share of the produce of the

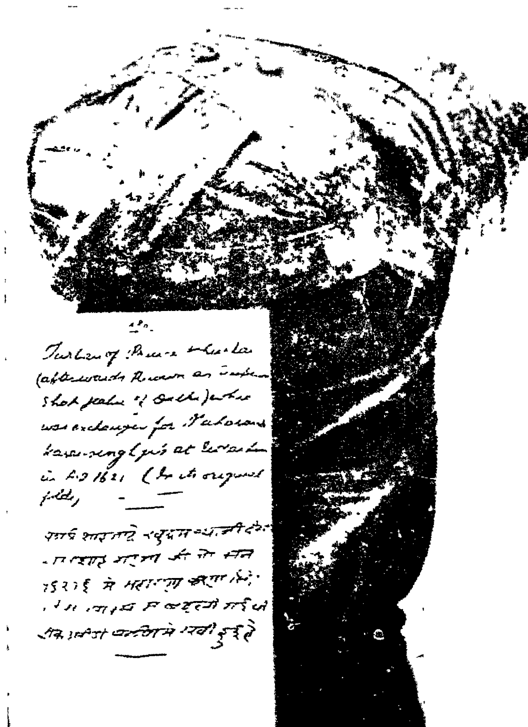
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[26] Copper-plate Inscription, No. 127 of Commissioner's Office, Udaipur dated the V.S. 1600.

[27] Copper-plate Inscription, No. 683 V.S. 1689 in the same office.

[28] Plate Nos. 477, 683, 184, 410 etc. in the same office.

[29] Raghunath : *Jagat Singh Kavya*, Canto 7, vv. 3, 51 :
'उचित भाग माप्नोति श्रेयसां संपदामपि'
'प्रोक्तः पुराणेषु नरेश्वराणां यत्कोश संवर्धनमेव धर्मः ।
धर्मार्ज्जितैरेव धनैरजस्त्र तनोति कोशं सुकृती सतेन ॥'



Khurram's Turban as preserved in Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur

a woman or child and all persons respected the law of the country. The laws of punishment were guided by Smritis.[39] However the Mughal influence can be traced in some judicial institutions.

The Rajputs who believed in their traditional method of warfare based on swordsmanship and display of feats of chivalry had to make necessary changes in their mode of fighting largely due to the Mughal influence. After the occupation of the fort of Chitor by Akbar the Sisodias made defiles, passes and hilly recesses as their headquarters and gave up gathering their strength in the forts. The new site of Udaipur chosen by Rana Udai Singh is an example of new strategy of war and new means of defence sought out. Formerly there was only one commander of the various arms of the army. Under him there were sub-commanders of the contingents, consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephants. Rana Jagat Singh separated the various branches of the army, and kept under separate commanders, for example, the charioteers, infantry, the horsemen and the elephants were under separate command. Over these commanders there was a chief-commander. The introduction of artillery at Haldi Ghati refered to in *Raj Ratnakar*[40] and *Amarkavya Vanshavali*[41] was due to the example set by the Mughals.

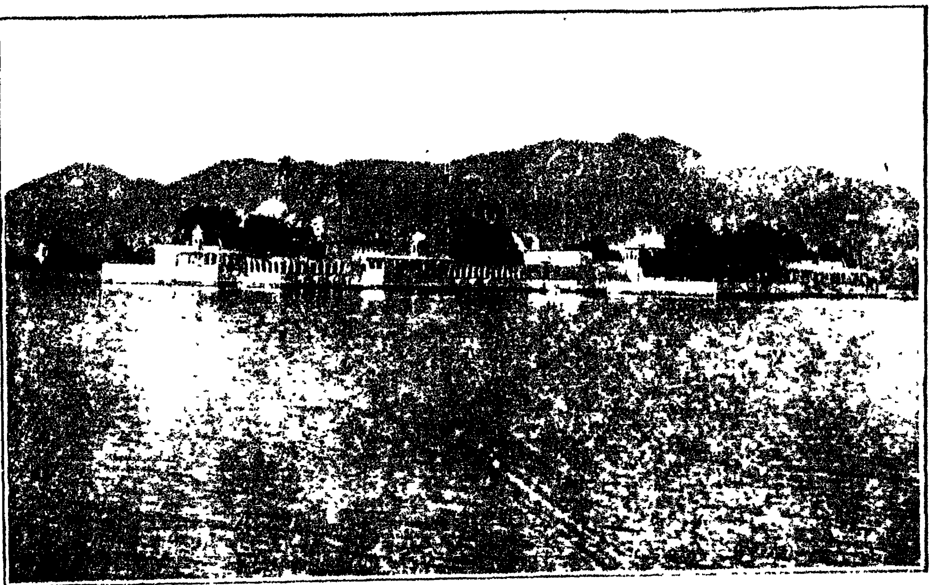
The economic policy of the Ranas was much influenced by the continuous warfare in which Mewar had to engaged herself. In order to provide land for cultivation the Ranas followed a scheme of rehabilitating men from the time of Pratap to Raj Singh. In order to improve the lot of the agriculturists several lakes for irrigation facilities were constructed. The Gyan Sagar Lake (1664), Raj Samudra (1676) and Jai Samudra (1691) were the most important among them. The construction of

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39 *Jagat Singh Kavya*, Canto 7, v. 48 :
'दंड्येषु दंड वितरन् यथावत् पराशर प्रोक्तमतानुसारी'

40 *Raj Ratnakar*, Canto 7, v. 15 :
'ज्वलन यंत्रधरैः प्रचंण्डैः'

41 *Amarkavya Vanshavali*, f. 43 (b) :
'बहु वह्नि शस्त्रैः'



Jagmandir Palace

Raj Samudra, as Man Kavi[42] says, was undertaken to give relief to famine-stricken people of Mewar.

The period under review had experienced many social changes. The change commenced from the time of Amar Singh I. The head-dress of the courtiers called 'Amar Shahi Pagri'[43] was first introduced by him which is still a recognized ceremonial head-dress of the Rana and his courtiers. The Amar Shahi turban is a modified form of the Mughal head-dress. The social grades of Sardars were also adjusted by the Rana.[44] The long robe and the trousers which form the court-dress got prominence from the time of Amar Singh I when exchange of robes of honour and visits to the court had been the normal routine after the treaty of 1615 A.D. These were the things borrowed from the Mughals.

In the domain of literature, art and architecture the period of peace between 1615-1679 A.D. can fitly be classed as the period of 'The Age of Rajput Renaissance'. when the fine art which was lying dormant after the death of Rana Kumbha (1468 A.D.) emerged out once again with a new form in which the indigenous techniques were blended with the Mughal methods.

The contact between the two races influenced the Rajput architecture to a great extent. The most notable contribution of the period was the gradual absorption of foreign element into the Rajput taste. The earliest trace of such influence is to be found in some of the palaces built by Amar Singh—like Amar Mahal, Jagamandir and Badipol with a persian inscription dated the 21st November, 1616.[45] In these palaces the influence of the Mughal architectural ideas is noticeable only in matter of detail and not in the conception of architectural techniques. The modified arches, profuse decoration and ornamentation of pillars and stone lattices distinguish these constructions from the simple structure of Udai Singh at Moti Magri and the

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42 MS. *Raj Vilas*, Canto 8 ff. 102-111.
43 Tod : *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 409.
44 *Ibid.*
45 Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 501.

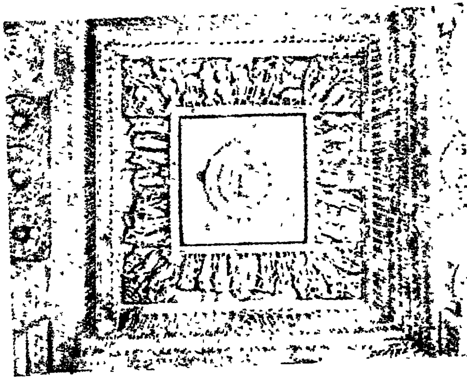
gigantic edifice of Pratap at Chavand. His successor Karan Singh who had many occasions to observe the Mughal architecture, built Moti Mahal, Manik Chowk, Zanani Mahal and Dilkush Mahal inside the main palaces at Udaipur and Ekaling Garh on the top of a hill just in the southern extremity of the city.[46] Even the names of the palaces reveal Mughal influence in many cases, and the style in which the palaces are built, their fine workmanship and the use of polished marble approximate them to the Mughal art. Jagat Singh I who followed him added to the beauty of Jagamandir, by laying a garden, constructing a big courtyard and adding towers and domes to the Zanani apartments. Kunwar Raj Singh constructed Sarwa Ritu Vilas in the eastern part of the capital with full display of fountains and domed chambers.[47]

But this fusion of the Rajput and the Mughal art in the royal architecture did not mean the displacement of the indigenous art. The temple of Jagannath Rai at Udaipur, built by Rana Jagat Singh in 1651 A.D., at the cost of fifteen lakhs of rupees, for instance, is a remarkable structure of vigorous indigenous architectural and well designed sculpture. It is a living monument of unsurpassed engineering skill. Similarly 'Nochoki', constructed by Rana Raj Singh between 1662 and 1676 at Rajnagar, is a fine edifice breathing peace and elegance. The perfection of its proportion, harmony of its designs and minute carving of its figures make it almost a rival to the Delwara temple of Abu or Sas Bahu temple of Nagda.[48]

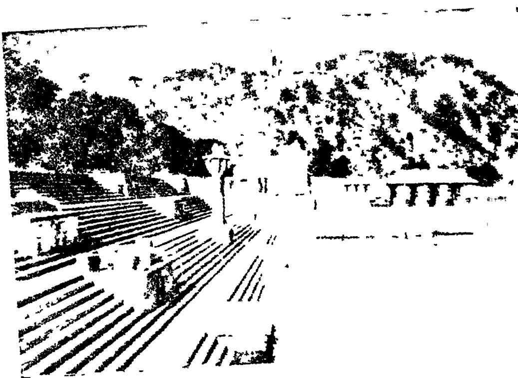
Along with the encouragement of art there was also a revival of Sanskrit literature in Mewar. After Kumbha's death in 1468 A.D., who was a great scholar himself and a patron of art, the study of Sanskrit had received a set-back and the cultivation of the literature was more or less given up. For a little less than two centuries there was no first rate

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[46] *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, pp. 269-271.
[47] Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. II, p. 528.
[48] *Modern Review*, May 1946, 'Forgotten Capital of Mewar' By G.N. Sharma.



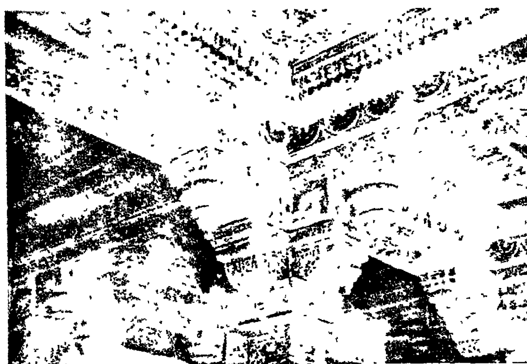
Rajsamudra Nawchawki.



Rajsamudra Bund.



Jaisamudra



Rajsamudra Nawchawki.

literary production worth naming. From the reign of Amar Singh a distinct bias in favour of the study of Sanskrit is noticeable. *Amarsar* of Pandit Jiwadhar of V.S. 1685 (1628 A.D.) which was begun in the reign of Amar Singh and was completed in the reigning period of Karan Singh. is an admirable exposition on the art of writing poetry and is blended with historical facts. *Amar Bhushan*, a treatise on Astronomy and an original work on calculation by an unknown writer. shows that the study of this branch was not neglected. During the reign of Jagat Singh I Sanskrit language seems to have been widely studied. I have in possession an MS. of *Sinhasan Dwatrinshika* of V.S. 1694 (1637 A.D.) which was written by Mishra Raimal for the study of Vidyadhar Sanadhya of Bedla and which shows that the study of Sanskrit was popular in villages also. Among the numerous works produced during Jagat Singh's reign, the most noteworthy are *Jagat Sinhastaka* by Mohan Bhatt, *Jagat Singh Kavya* by Raghunath and *Jagannath Rai Inscription* by Lakshmi Nath. which, though primarily meant as literary pieces of excellent metrical device, are useful for furnishing historical details of the Rana's time. This bias grew rapidly until the reign of Raj Singh gave it further momentum with the result that the age witnessed some of the finest production of Sanskrit.

The greatest name amongst the poets of the age of Raj Singh is that of Ran Chhod Bhatt, the celebrated writer of *Amarkavya Vanshavali*[19] and *Raj Prashasti Mahakavya* as an independent and corroborative authority on the history of Mewar. Both these works are remarkable as historical Kavyas possessing elegance and superbness of style. The writer was patronised first by Jagat Singh and then by Raj Singh. Next to him is Sada Shiva, an inhabitant of Banaras who came to Mewar where according to him the Muslim power had not yet overwhelmed the Hindu culture, and where there was free scope for his talent to shine. He seems to have been a prolific writer one of whose works *Raj Ratnakar*

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49 My paper in the proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission, 1945.

(1676) is a distinguished historical work, and, though written in an exaggrated manner, is a fine specimen of graceful style in Sanskrit. Another work *Raj Ratnakar* by Dhundi Raj, completed in year 1681 A.D., deals with the methods of testing precious stones. *Raj Sinhastaka* by Mukand, another literary piece, reveals the perfection of grace of diction and metre attained by that age.

Among the poets of Hindi-Rajasthani school the first name is that of Man Kavi, who wrote *Raj Vilas*, a poetical work in the flowery style giving the story of the exploits and adventures of Raj Singh's time.

It was during this period of peace that public interest was diverted towards local songs pertaining to the war-like glory of the heroes of Mewar. Ministrels singing at their harps created a taste in common people for poetry. Songs of that age reveal that there was a deep articulate poetry in the common folk of Mewar. Shyam, Gopal Das Dudavat, Rama Ashiya, Jogidas, Achaldas, Jeta Mahiyaria, Sadumal, Man Singh Ashiya, Jeth Ram Dadhivadia and Keshu were the poets who possessed a rich and flowery style and deserve to be read with great interest. From the point of view of history they afford an inexhaustible store of facts, which though mixed up with a lot of unhistorical legendary matter, have an indirect value of their own.

The development of Vanshavali literature in Mewari prose during this period deserves a brief notice. We come across large number of Vanshavalis or works on genealogies compiled during the period. They are generally brief, yet preserve several traditional stories of the history of Mewar.[50] The most important of them are *Suryavansh*, *Tawarikh Vanshavali*, *Vanshavali Ranajini*, *Sisod Vanshavali* and *Raj-Kul-ri-Shakha*.

Various branches of learning received encouragement at the hands of the Ranas who were themselves proficient in several branches of studies. Amar Singh I was called a connoisseur of art and was interested in fourteen branches of learning.[51] Raj

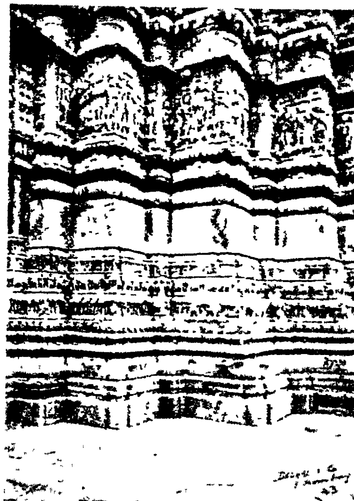
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50 *Oriental Conference Proceedings*, 1933.

51 Amar Bhushan in colophon records him as :
'चतुर्दश विद्या विनोद रसिक'



Jagdish Temple



Engraving at Jagdish Temple

Singh[52] was himself a poet of high order. Ministers like Dungar Shah[53] and Garibdas were well-known patrons of learning who encouraged poets and writers. By the order of Purohit Garibdas inscriptions of the time of Rana Kumbha were collected in book form under the name of *Prashasti Sangrah* in 1670 A.D. by Sada Shiva.[54] It is a valuable work of its kind in Sanskrit.

While Sanskrit and Mewari had monopolised literature, as a result of popular interest in them, Persian language flourished in official correspondence. Kayasthas who were conversant with Persian and could interpret it in the spoken language of the Ranas, were specially appointed to responsible posts during the period. By virtue of their ability they rose to eminent positions. namely, Mahasani. Bakshi and Vazir of the state. Bhag Chand. Goverdhan and Punja were notable writers of the copper-plate grants given by the Ranas. Voluminous contemporary correspondence of private and official character preserved in the record office of the Ranas, portions of which have been published in *Vir Vinod*, Vol. II, shows how the elegant and ornate style of the Mughals was adopted in letters that were sent to the Mughal courts. The introduction of Persian in state correspondence influenced the court vocabulary in which many Persian words became common and are in existence to this day.

The Mughal contact also influenced the Rajput painting. A new impetus was given to the art by Karan Singh I who erected Chhoti Chitra Sali at Udaipur palace, decorated with secular and religious pictures and portraits in which the art, though essentially Hindu in character, reveals assimilation of the Mughal style. Gradually the vigorous and spontaneous Rajput Kalam yielded to the fantastic colouring of Shah Jahan's time and the Badi Chitra Shali of Sangram Singh II (1710-1734 A.D.) is full

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52 Ojha : *Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. II. p. 580.

53 *Amarsar*, First Adhikar, v. 270, f. 23 (b) :

'जयति सुमति पूर्णो डुंगरोमात्यराजः'

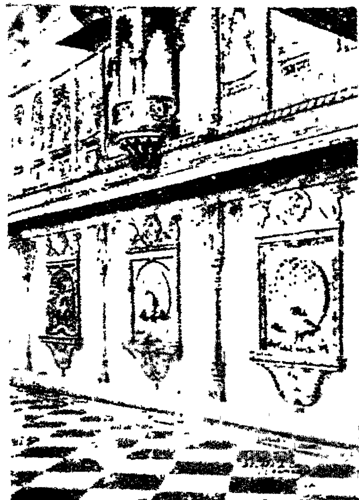
54 My paper in Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944. With the help of this *Prashasti Sangraha*, I have recovered the full text of Slab No. 2, which is in a fragmentary state, in Victoria Hall Museum.

of specimens of this florid painting. The large collection of paintings preserved in the Jotdan, the private picture gallery of the Ranas of Udaipur possesses some of the rarest pictures of that age. Among them the painting of Farrukhfal with a note, 'Asif Khan ro beto', on the margin is the most interesting and one of the rare pictures in India.[55]

During the same period calligraphy, the allied art of painting and writing, was equally patronised in Mewar. Some of the manuscripts of *Prithviraj Raso*, *Gita Govind*, *Gita*, *Bhagvat Puran* and *Ekaling Mahatmya* copied during this period are still in a good state of preservation in Saraswati Bhandar Library, Udaipur, and show the excellence of the hand of the calligraphists. *Amarsar* contains a fine drawing of circles of letters which illuminates the manuscript. Among the leading calligraphists the names of Jaswant, Purshottam, Nand Kishore, Man Sagar, Sardul and Sada Shiva are worth naming.

Thus when the horror of exhausting wars abated and gave them a little breathing space after 1615 A.D. the Ranas and the people of Mewar pursued the arts of peace with vigour and energy. They fully utilised the period of peace for encouraging local art and learning and adjusting them with the Mughal art. The result of the adjustment was the culture that stands to this day as a noble contribution of the mediaeval age.

The painting of Farrukhfal is in the possession of the picture gallery of the Maharana. I discovered the painting from the 'Jotdan' and exhibited it at the session of Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.



Chhoti Chitrasali

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Tuzuk-i-Babari (S.B.L., Udaipur, MS. No. 173). The autobiography of Babur, variously known as *Tuzuk-i-Babari*, or *Waqiat-i-Babari*, or *Baburnama*, or Memoirs of Babur, was originally written in Turki. It was translated into Persian in the middle of Akbar's reign by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. It was translated into English from Persian by Leyden and Erskine. Mrs. A. S. Beveridge has translated it from the original Turki MS. in possession of the Nizam of Hyderabad. This is the most authentic and accurate translation. In the present work the MS. and Beveridge's translation, Vols. I and II, 1921, have been used. The memoirs form one of the best and most faithful royal autobiographies. It is a faithful diary of Babur's life. The accounts given in the memoirs are sufficiently lucid and vivid. *Baburnama,* therefore, is our primary authority for the second chapter of this thesis, Rana Sanga and Babur. It has helped us immensely in fixing dates of the movement of Rana Sanga from Chitor to Bayana and from Bayana to Khanua and of his ultimate death. *Baburnama* also throws a flood of light on the condition of Mewar after Rana Sanga's death when Rani Karunavati, the widow of the deceased Rana, sought help from Babur. In spite of its general accuracy all the statements of Babur are not faithful. His account of the alleged breach of faith on the part of Sanga has been examined along with his account of his treaty with Daulat Khan Lodi and a conclusion has been drawn in the light of the descriptions as given by Babur in both

the cases of alliances. His statement that he had only 12,000 men at the battle of Panipat and similar number at Khanua has been found deliberately under-estimated.

2. **Humayunnama** by Gulbadan Begam, translated by A.S. Beveridge, 1902. She is the only woman writer of the period. As a daughter of Babur and sister of Humayun her description shows a soft corner for them. Her accounts are more or less much indulged in the descriptions of ladies, parties, mirths and enjoyments and, therefore, she failed to record many important political developments of her time. She wrote about fifty years after the events had actually taken place. However, her memoirs help us in tackling important issues. Referring to the arrival of an astrologer at the battle of Khanua she gives the important fact about the contrivance of Babur to create confidence in his men who were feeling nervous. She informs us that a reinforcement of only 30 to 40 men had arrived from Kabul. But in order to show that they were a large body of men Babur sent 1,000 of his own troops at midnight to join them and bring them to the field. Similarly her description of Humayun's first going to Gwalior and coming to Agra and then going again for an engagement against Bahadur have been used with profit. Mirza Askari's revolt at Ahmadabad and his pursuit by Humayun which took a considerable time shows that Humayun had been to Chitor (8th June, 1536) in the course of his pursuit of his brother (who was there for May and half of June, 1536) and not to help the Rajputs who had already taken possession of the fort without Humayun's assistance.

3. **Tezkirat-ul-Waqiyat** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 136) by Jauhar, translated into English by Major Charles Stewart, 1832. The work begins from Humayun's accession and ends with his reinstallation on the throne. The book was written by his '*aftabchi*', or ewer-bearer, Jauhar. During the days of Humayun's adversities and successes, he was a constant attendant upon the emperor. His

estimation for his master is so great that he hardly sees anything reproachable in him. As regards the selection of subject he gives undue importance to even ordinary events and makes no difference between a significant event and an insignificant event. But it must be admitted that he writes things with straightforwardness and honesty. As for example, he gives us the details about Bahadur's request to Humayun not to interfere with him while he was engaged in a war against an infidel. He mentions that out of religious consideration the emperor gave up his pursuit against Bahadur. Humayun's inaction, Bahadur's invasion of Chitor and Humayun's engagement against Bahadur after his conquest of Chitor are the events which have been taken from this work.

4. **Humayunnama** (S.B.L., Udaipur. MS. No. 175) by Khwandamir. His full name was Ghiyasuddin Khwandamir bin Humamuddin. His history, the *Humayunnama*, is only useful for this work to refer to Humayun's visit to Gwalior.

5. **Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi** (extracts translated in Elliot's work, Vol. IV) by Mushtaqi. It is a later work on the Lodi dynasty by Rizqullah Mushtaqi which was presented to Sikandar Sur. In this work the victory of Ibrahim's force against Rana Sanga has been recorded. Throughout this work the author tries to praise everything Afghan and undervalues everything Hindu. This is not corroborated by other sources, particularly the local sources, and hence I have rejected it.

6. **Akbarnama** (Pheeroz Shah's personal Library, Udaipur, MS. Vol. II and Per. Text, N.K. Press, Lucknow). It is a celebrated work by Shaikh Abul Fazl Allami maintaining the events of the Mughal dynasty to the end of 46th year of the reign of Akbar (1602 A.D.). The work has been translated into English by Mr. H. Beveridge, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in three volumes. As a writer Abul Fazl stands unrivalled. It is a most valuable chronicle of Akbar's reign. For official facts and dates it stands as a

most valuable chronicle. It is a primary authority on the events that passed during Akbar's reign in relation to Mewar. I have taken the account of the last days of Sanga given in this book as reliable. I have mostly relied on this book in writing my chapters on Udai Singh and Akbar, and Rana Pratap and Akbar, in preference to Rajput sources, which were written much later. As for example, I have placed reliance in Abul Fazl's statement for the death of Jaimal by a shot from Akbar's gun. The fact seems to be convincing because after this event there was confusion in the fort. Abul Fazl's description regarding the establishment of batteries at different points is sufficiently vivid and has enabled me to study the events of the siege more accurately. His accounts of three missions of peace sent to Rana Pratap before Haldi Ghati are quite convincing. The cordial reception extended by the Rana to much lesser personages than Man Singh is a proof that the accounts of the local bards regarding the insult to Man Singh at Udai Sagar are baseless. The subsequent invasions of the Mughals opening in Mewar from Haldi Ghati to the end of Akbar's reign have been vividly given by Abul Fazl and have enabled us to establish facts on sound basis.

7. **Takmila-i-Akbarnama** (extracts translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI) of Inayatullah. This is the supplement of the Akbarnama, containing the four remaining years of Akbar's reign. It furnishes for the present work the information for the last two invasions on Mewar under Salim which were conducted by the prince in a half-hearted manner.

8. **Ain-i-Akbari,** (Per. Text, Vols. I and II, Aligarh, 1272 H.) by Abul Fazl, translated into English by Blochmann Vol. I (1873), and Jarrett Vols. II (1894) and III (1894), Bibliotheca Indica Series, and Sir J. N. Sarkar, Vol. III (1947), is the most useful storehouse of geographical and economic information. It has enabled us to know the fact as to how Akbar after his successful siege made Chitor a

Sarkar of Mughal Empire and how the neighbouring territory of the Rana's dominions was divided into 21 *parganas*. Abul Fazl's account enables us to trace accurately the history of the subsequent events of the struggle between the Rana and the emperor.

9. **Tabaqat-i-Akbari** (Per. Text, N. K. Press, Lucknow) of Nizamuddin Ahmad. B. De has translated it in three volumes and which has been published in Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta. From Nizamuddin we know the exact number of men in the fort of Chitor when Rana Udai Singh had left it. Similarly Nizamuddin gives the correct figure of the casualties at Chitor but the figures of casualties given by him at Haldi Ghati are not clear. Nizamuddin records that Akbar gave an order for massacre after his victory at Chitor. Nizamuddin gives explicit reason of Akbar's invasion against Pratap, that was of keeping the road to Gujarat open which is more convincing than the cause given by Abul Fazl as Rana's pride, disobedience and stubbornness. Nizamuddin also praises the daring fight of Raja Ram Shah of Gwalior and Rana Pratap which shows his impartiality as a writer. He also frankly admits the difficulties of the supply of food to the imperial army at Gogunda when the Rana had successfully cut off all means of communication. The mid-night escape of the Rana from the fort of Kumbhalgarh has been recorded by Nizamuddin and his account is here more accurate than that of either Badaoni or Abul Fazl.

10. **Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh** (Per. Text, Vols. I, II, III, Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta) by Abdul Qadir Badaoni, translated into English by Ranking and Lowe. It is also frequently called *Tarikh-i-Badaoni*. It gives some new facts which are highly valuable. Badaoni was a Muslim and prejudiced against the Rajputs. But his account of Haldi Ghati has helped us to understand the position of the Rana's forces and the engagement of various ranks in the fight. The flight of the imperialists and the rally of the Mughals by the cry of Mihtar Khan are the events which

Badaoni has very cleverly mentioned to make the critical position of the Mughals clear to his readers. As regards the duration of the regular battle also, which ceased at mid-day, Badaoni is clear. The rest of the accounts of Akbar's relation with Mewar go exactly as given by Nizamuddin. Sometimes he is inaccurate in describing the internal matters relating to Mewar. For example, he records the invasion of Bahadur against Rana Sanga instead of Rana Vikramaditya.

11. **Tarikh-i-Alfi** (extracts translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VI). This work comprehends a history of Mohammedan races upto the thousandth year of the Hijri era. Its compilation was directed by Akbar and was undertaken by Maulana Ahmad and several other learned men. It gives the information about Rana Udai Singh's flight and the provision of its defence made by the Rana. It also tells us how Akbar carried out a systematic survey of the land all round the fort and established various commanders at various posts. It clearly mentions that Jaimal was killed then and there by the shot of Akbar's gun while supervising the work of the repairs of the walls of the fort. It also records the celebration of '*Jauhar*' by the Rajput ladies. It also refers to plundering by the Mughals after the capture of the fort.

12. **Tarikh-i-Firishta** (Per. Text, N. K. Press, Lucknow) written by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, and translated into English by Lieut. Col. Briggs. The work was written at the suggestion of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and so in his work we find a great space allotted to the description of the rulers of the south. It also gives a description of the events from the time of Babur to that of Akbar. As the author is not the eye-witness of the events of the Mughal period he is not to a great extent authentic. However, I am indebted to it as regards the stray verses exchanged between Humayun and Bahadur Shah, invasion of Chitor by Akbar, operation of mines and construction of *Sabats*. Firishta's account of Sher Shah's marching upto Chitor is

not correct and therefore I have rejected it and followed Abbas who is more reliable.

13. **Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi** (S. B. L., Udaipur. MS. in one Vol., No. 134) by Abbas Sarwani. The work is the most detailed history of the reign of Sher Shah. It was written at the command of Akbar, about 40 years after Sher Shah's death. As an Afghan himself and as a close associate with many other Afghans who were closely related to Sher Shah or served under him, Abbas had an opportunity to collect facts and describe them accurately. But as the events are based on hearsay and are taken for granted as handed down to him from a third person, there are some inconsistencies and contradictions. However, the account of Sher Shah's invasion of Chitor and the formal submission of the Rana by sending the key of the fort when Sher Shah was 12 '*kos*' away from the fort are invaluable. He rightly mentions that Shahamas Khan was appointed the governor of Chitor.

14. **Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana** (S.B.L., Udaipur, MS. No. 153) of Ahmad Yadgar. The author was an old servant of the Sur kings. He wrote the history of the Afghans by the order of Daud Shah. The book commences with the reign of Bahlol Lodi and ends with the execution of Himu. Yadgar's account of the victory of Ibrahim's forces over those of Rana Sanga is unreliable. The writer is not contemporary writer and his version goes against the more reliable version given by the local authorities.

15. **Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri** (Per. Text, Vols. I and II, Aligarh, 1864) or memoirs of the emperor himself. The first seventeen years of his reign were written by the emperor himself. Mutamid Khan to whom the task was entrusted by Jahangir, who was suffering from ill-health, brought it down to the beginning of the 19th year of his reign. It is translated into English by Rogers and H. Beveridge and published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909 and 1914.

Jahangir's diary forms the prime authority for this thesis as regards his relation with Mewar. The emperor

records that the second invasion that he undertook during his father's time proved a failure. He gives full accounts of the different commanders sent to Mewar time after time as Parviz, Mahabat, Abdullah and Khurram. All happenings in Mewar related to expeditions have been recorded. He admits with frankness the partial success of Parviz, Mahabat Khan and Abdullah. The Rana's submission has been mentioned by the emperor with special interest and the subsequent description of exchange of presents with Karan Singh and Kr. Jagat Singh have been described in great detail.

16. **Iqbalnama** (Per. Text, Vols. I, II and III, N.K. Press, Lucknow). It is a history of the Timurid dynasty by Mutamid Khan till the end of Jahangir's reign. The first comes down to the reign of Babur and second to Akbar and third to the end of the reign of Jahangir. For the first eighteen years of Jahangir's reign the account is very often similar to that given in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

    The work furnishes additional information as regards Akbar's invasion where artillery-men from Kalpi fought on the Rana's side. This fact is also corroborated by *Akbarnama.* While describing prince Salim's appointment as a commander our writer gives sixty names of the important followers of the prince. Mutamid Khan also gives the account of ruthless murder and imprisonment carried by Khurram in Mewar which no other contemporary writer does. He also describes Rana Amar Singh's interview with Khurram of which he was the eye-witness. His mention of the Rana's prostration before prince Khurram is incorrect and has been rejected. The interview was accomplished in a dignified manner.

17. **Maasir-i-Jahangiri** by Khwaja Kamgar, composed in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign. I have used its English translation of the Journal of Indian History, Vol. VIII and some extracts translated in Elliot, Vol. VI. The Maasir corroborates the accounts of Salim's invasion of Mewar and Khurram's successful progress. It also

furnishes some accounts of Shah Jahan's rebellion and the daring acts of Kunwar Bhim in alliance with the rebel prince.

18. **Tatimma-i-Waqiat-i-Jahangiri** (extracts translated in Elliot, Vol. VI) of Muhammad Hadi. It also helps us in knowing about the career of Kunwar Bhim who fought for the prince and ultimately met his end at Damdama.

19. **Mirat-i-Sikandari** (S.B.L., Udaipur, Per. Text, No. 170) by Sikandar bin Ahmad, written in 1611 A.D. It gives reliable account as regards the war between Rana Sanga and the rulers of Gujarat and is useful for our period.

20. **Badshahnama** (extracts translated in Elliot and Dowson. Vol. VII) of Mirza Aminai Qazvini. It is an official history of Shah Jahan's reign. He entered the imperial service in the fifth year of Shah Jahan's reign. His first work on the description of Aurangzib's fight with the elephant Sudhakar was highly commended by the emperor. His second work of Bundela's rebellion brought him the dignity of a court historian. He continued to fill this post till the 10th year of his reign when he was removed due to the jealousy of his rivals.

    The Badshahnama of Qazvini though simple and lucid is a partial account. The account of the rebellion of Shah Jahan has been briefly given and it is of little value for the present work.

21. **Badshahnama** (Per. Text, Vols. I and II, Bibliotheca Indica, 1867) of Abdul Hamid Lahauri. It is a work by another historian named Abdul Hamid Lahauri. The work was completed on Nov. 9, 1648. It covers 20 years of his (Shah Jahan's) reign. The account of the first 10 years is a mere repetition of Qazvini's work. The other half is important. It gives account of Shah Jahan's invasion of Chitor and the Rana's submission.

22. **Shah Jahannama** (some extracts translated in Elliot, Vol. VII) of Inayat Khan. It covers Shah Jahan's reign from 1627 to 1654 A.D. The account of the first 20 years

agrees with the Badshahnama of Lahauri. The author informs us that when the forces were sent against Rana Jagat Singh, he begged pardon of him and so the forces of the Mughals were withdrawn. But Rana Raj Singh again commenced repairs and so Wazir Sadullah Khan was sent against him who demolished the repaired parts and returned to Agra. The Rana also sent Kr. Jai Singh and made peace with the emperor.

23. **Amal-i-Salih** (MS., S. B. L.) by Muhammad Salih Kambu. The author wrote a detailed history of Shah Jahan's reign and completed it in 1659. It gives description of the invasion of Chitor, Rana Raj Singh's submission and prince Jai Singh's visit to the court and exchange of presents.

24. **Khulasa-i-Shah Jahannama** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 148) by Zahid Khan. The author wrote it by the orders of Muazzam to give briefly the account of Shah Jahan's reign as given by Qazvini and Lahauri. The work has been used to describe Shah Jahan's invasion against the Rana, Wazir Sadullah's demolition of the repairs of the fort of Chitor, visits of the crown prince to the court and the war of succession.

25. **Insha-i-Chandra Bhan** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 50) by Chandra Bhan. His four letters, as preserved in the MS., written to Shah Jahan by Chandra Bhan from Udaipur are highly useful for tracing the relation between the emperor and Rana Jagat Singh I.

26. **Alamgirnama** (Per. Text, Bibliotheca Indica, 1868) by Mirza Muhammad Kasim. It is an official history of first ten years of the reign of Aurangzib. When it was dedicated and presented to Aurangzib, he forbade its continuation. It is verbose and flattering, though its facts are highly useful for history. I have found it useful. It refers to the early relation of the Rana with Aurangzib. It records the restoration by Aurangzib of the *parganas* of Mandal, Badnor and Mandalgarh to the Rana.

27. **Maasir-i-Alamgiri** (Per. Text, Bibliotheca Indica, 1870-73) of Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan. It covers the

whole of Alamgir's time. It is indebted for the first ten years to *Alamgirnama* and the rest is original. The author is an eyewitness of the several events described by him. Some of the events mentioned therein. I have found very useful for my purpose, for instance, such events as Aurangzib's occupation of Jodhpur, destructive measures adopted in Mewar, fall of Deobari in Mewar, ruthless destruction in Udaipur, Prince Azam's expedition in the interior of Mewar, Prince Akbar's transfer for his inactivity at Chitor, and the terms of the treaty between Mewar and the Mughal empire after the failure of Akbar's revolt.

28. **Muntakhab-ul-Lubab** (Per. Text, Vols. I and II, Bibliotheca Indica Series) of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan. It begins from Babur and ends at the 14th year of Muhammad Shah's reign. He privately complied the events of Aurangzib's reign and made them public after the monarch's death. It gives a good account of Khurram's invasion of Mewar. Its account of Aurangzib's relation with Mewar is very important. It records the Rana's measure for the evacuation of Udaipur, Azam's expedition to the interior of Mewar and Rana's tactics of blocking the passes. It also gives the strength of the Rathor troops as 25,000. This work also records the peace negotiation first opened with Muazzam by the Rana and then with prince Akbar. It also records the clever device of the emperor to deprive prince Akbar of Tahavvur Khan and the Rathors by dropping forged letters.

29. **Mirat-i-Ahmadi** (S.B.L., Udaipur, MS. Vols. I, II, and III, No. 167) by Ali Muhammad Khan, the last Mughal *Diwan* of Gujarat. It gives an account of Rana Sanga's conflicts with Muzaffar Shah II, the ruler of Gujarat, Bahadur's invasion of Chitor, the terms of the treaty between the Rana and Bahadur Shah, Kunwar Bhim and Shah Jahan and Aurangzib's war against Raj Singh. These events have been found useful.

30. **Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chaghtai** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. Vols. I and II, No. 157) by Muhammad Hadi Kanwar Khan. It

deals with the early history of this dynasty and goes down to the reign of Muhammad Shah. It is divided in two volumes, the first goes upto Jahangir's death and second comes down to Muhammad Shah's reign. Though it is not a contemporary work, it gives at places additional information and so I have quoted its events such as Kishan Singh sent by Jahangir to congratulate Rana Karan on his accession, devastation at Udaipur by Azam and prince Akbar transferred to Marwar from Chitor. It gives some additional information as regards Aurangzib's new plan after prince Akbar's transfer to harass the Rana from different sides.

31. **Maasir-ul-Umara** (S. B. L. Udaipur, MS. Vols. I and II, Nos. 113 and 114) by Shahnawaz Khan. It is a biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles from the days of Babur to the eighth decade of the 18th century. The work has been published by Asiatic Society, Bengal in three parts and some parts in alphabetical order have been translated by Beveridge. This work has helped me to give at places the life of the important Mughal nobles who were employed in campaigns in Mewar.

B. Letters and Farmans :

1. A **Farman** from Jahangir to Rana Amar Singh (1615) refers to the treaty made and confers honours on the Rana. It is preserved in the confidential office of the Maharana. Its Hindi translation has been given in the Vir Vinod, Part II.
2. **Four letters of Aurangzib** (1658) written from the Deccan to the Rana, requesting help in his war of succession against his father. They are in a fairly good state of preservation in the confidential office of the Maharana.
3. **A Farman from Muazzam** to Dolat Singh of Shahpura on 27th Nov., 1680 instructing him to remain loyal to the Mughals. Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau has procured a copy from Shahpura.
4. **A Farman from Aurangzib** dated 23rd Feb., 1681, to Jai Singh. Its Hindi translation has been given in the Vir Vinod II.

5. **A Farman from Aurangzib** dated 18th July, 1681, to the Rana confirming the treaty entered into by him. Dr. Raghubir Singh has a copy in his possession.

C. Inscriptions :

(*a*) *Sanskrit* :

1. Early Inscriptions of this period—
Aparajit Inscription (V.S. 718), **Sarnath Inscription** (V.S. 1010), **Kumbhalgarh Inscription** (V.S. 1517), **Chirwa Inscription** (V.S. 1330) and **Ekaling Inscription** (V.S. 1545) have been utilized in tracing references to the events pertaining to the early history of Mewar.

2. **Jagannath Rai Inscription,** Sanskrit Text. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX , dated 15th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1709 (13th May, 1652 A.D.). It is fixed on both the sides of the passage leading into the *Sabha Mandap* of the Jagannath Rai temple of Udaipur. It gives the actual time of the commencement of the battle of Haldi Ghati. The next important information that it furnishes is the expedition of Kunwar Karan Singh to Sironj. It also mentions Jagat Singh's expedition to Dungarpur. It was composed by Laxmi Nath, better known as Babu Bhatt, a Tailanga Brahmin of Kathundi.

3. **Raj Prashasti Mahakavya.** Sanskrit Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of Magh, V.S. 1732 (1676 A.D.). It is an epic poem in 24 cantos, engraved on 25 slabs, each slab containing a canto and the preliminary slab containing laudatory verses. These slabs are fixed in the niches of the embankment of the Raj Samudra lake, constructed by Maharana Raj Singh. It deals with the history of the Maharanas from Bapa to Raj Singh. It is a primary authority from the time of Jagat Singh when its writer Ranchhod Bhatt was his contemporary. Its description of the meeting of Rana Pratap and Sakta at Haldi Ghati is not reliable. It gives certain very important information about Jagat Singh's invasion of Dungarpur and the meeting of Sadullah Khan and the Rana's men at Chitor. This *Karya* informs us that prince Akbar was also willing

to make peace with the Rana because daily 400 men of his camp were deserting him and there was shortage of food in his camp. The writer gives full details of the meeting of Jai Singh and prince Azam at Jai Samudra to ratify the treaty.

4. **Dhaya ka Devra Inscription** Sanskrit Text, dated V.S. 1732 (1676 A.D.). It deals with Shah Jahan's stay at Udaipur and his wars with Mewar.
5. **Deobari Inscription** Sanskrit Text, dated V.S. 1732 (1676 A.D.). It deals with the wars of Sadullah Khan and refers to Rup Singh's (Kishangarh) high position in the Mughal rank, whose daughter was married by Rana Raj Singh.

(*b*) *Mewari and Hindi :*

1. **Rupnarain Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 7th of the dark-half of Jaishtha, V.S. 1561 (1504). It records the death of Rathor Bida who died there fighting for Sanga who was closely pursued by his enemies.
2. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 4th of the bright-half of Ashad, V.S. 1565 (2nd July, 1508 A.D.). The plate has been referred to Rana Sanga's accession in V.S. 1565 and not V.S. 1566 as given by Nensi and Ojha.
3. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 12th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1576 (11th April, 1519 A.D.). It refers to the Sultan's (Mahmud II) capture by a Chundawat with the help of 300 horse (Photo-plate No. 26/144, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur).
4. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 1st of the dark-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1582 (8th May, 1525 A.D.). It records the collection of money by Shri Dhar from the tributary states under Rana Sanga. It throws light over his power before the battle at Khanua. (Photo-plate No.

Mughals. Commissioner's Office, Udaipur).
copy from Sh**lates,** Mewari Text, one dated 12th of the
4. **A Farman fro**halgun, V.S. 1587 (24th .Feb., 1530 A.D.)
Jai Singh. Its and another dated 7th of the dark-half
Vir Vinod II. 1589 (25th June, 1532 A.D.) of Vikrama-

ditya. With the help of both these plates the probable date of the death of Ratan Singh has been deduced.

6. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 30th of the dark-half of Bhadva of V.S. 1589 (13th August, 1532). It records the name of Vikramaditya's minister Shah Madha. (Photo-plate 26/47, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.)

7. **Two Copper-plate Inscriptions,** Mewari Text, one dated 5th of the bright-half of Kartik, V.S. 1594 (9th October, 1537 A.D.) and another dated 15th of the bright-half of Kartik V.S. 1594 (18th Oct. 1537 A.D.) They show that Rana Udai Singh was recognised by that time as the Rana at Kumbhalgarh while Vanbir was ruling at Chitor. (Photo-plate No. 306 (2). Commissioner's Office, Udaipur).

8. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 1st of bright-half of Jaishtha V.S. 1597 (7th May 1540 A.D.) It records a victory of Udai Singh probably against Vanbir (Photo-plate No. 26/B/133, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur).

9. **Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 30th of dark-half of Magh V.S. 1616 (8th June, 1559 A.D.) It records the completion of Udai Sagar by that time. (Photo-plate No. 796, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur).

10. **Copper-plate Inscriptions,** Mewari Text, of Udai Singh's time between V.S. 1616 to V.S. 1628, show his scheme of transferring his population to *Girwa* away from Chitor and its environs for defending his subjects and populating the part near his new capital, Udaipur. Nos. of the plates of Commissioner's Office, Udaipur are :

    760, 759, 745, 752, 717, 818, 666, 680, 651, 429, 394, 429, 430, 435, 454, 492, 565, 572, 786, 598, 786. 618, 13, 12, 65, 78, 104, 157, 151, 183, 190, 198, 205, 204, 222, 265, etc.

11. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of Kartik, V.S. 1631 (29th Oct., 1574 A.D.) It records the grant of land by Rana Pratap to Joshi Puno to keep watch over the Haldi Ghati by posting him as a head of cavalry. It shows the preparations of the Rana

before the battle. (Photo-plate No. 214, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.)

12. **Two Copper-plate Inscriptions,** Mewari Text, dated 5th of the bright-half of Kartik, V.S. 1633 (25th Nov., 1576 A.D.). They show that the Rana during this period was at Kumbhalgarh and was busy in his administrative work after the battle of Haldi Ghati.

13. **Surkhand Inscription,** Hindi Text, dated 11th of the bright-half of Jaishtha V.S. 1642 (27th June, 1585 A.D). It records Rana Pratap's victory against Rathors and the occupation of their land in Chhappan.

14. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of Kartik, V.S. 1645 (24th Oct. ,1588 A.D.). It shows that Rana Pratap had occupied the land in Pander, near Jahazpur.

15. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated the 7th of the bright-half of Jaishtha, V.S. 1662 (15th May, 1605 A.D.). It shows the early measures of Amar Singh to rehabilitate the deserted part of Kelwa (near Kumbhalgarh district). (Photo-plate No. 343, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.)

16. **Rampol Inscription** (Chitor), Mewari Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of Asoj, V.S. 1678 (20th Sept., 1621 A.D.) shows that in Mewar *pargana* division was taken up in a systematic way from the time of Rana Karan Singh as Mandalgarh, Phutayaro, Bhinavado, etc.

17. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 2nd of the dark-half of Ashad, 1689 (23rd June, 1632 A.D.). It records the systematic division of land in '*Siyalu*' and '*Unalu*' and mentions the division of land in both words and figures. (Photo-plate No. 683, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.)

18. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 4th of the dark-half of Bhadrapad, V.S. 1709 (11th Sept., 1652 A.D.). It records the pilgrimage of the mother of Jagat Singh to Prayag. (Photo-plate No. 477, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.)

19. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 14th of the

dark-half of Asoj, V.S. 1714 (11th Oct., 1657 A.D.) of Raj Singh's early measure of rehabiliation. (Photo-plate No. 128/25, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.)

20. **A Copper-plate Inscription.** Mewari Text, dated 11th of the bright-half of Vaishakh, V.S. 1724 (27th April, 1667 A.D.). It records the grant of land to Pitha, the leader of Bhils. (No. 94, Jagir S. 91, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.)
21. **Deobari-gate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 5th of the bright-half of Shravan, V.S. 1731 (25th Aug., 1674 A.D.) It records the fixing of the door to the Deobari gate, a measure of defence of the *Girwa*.
22. **Bedvas Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated V.S. 1732 (1675 A.D.) It deals with Raj Singh's expedition to Banswara and Dungarpur. It gives the names of several ministers who served the state.
23. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 8th of the dark-half of Kartik, V.S. 1734 (9th Oct., 1677 A.D.). It is an order to the *pargana* officer for free grant of land in Rageda to Bhim. (Photo-plate No. 26/10, Commissioner's Office, Udaipur.)
24. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 13th of the bright-half of V.S. 1859. It records the establishment of village Sayara and the attached Khera in Kumbhalgarh district by Kunwar Amar Singh in V.S. 1630 (1573 A.D.)
25. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 10th of the bright-half of Ashad, V.S. 1891. It is an inscription of Rana Jawan Singh's time, but it records that in Lakhola Rana Amar Singh I granted land in connection with his scheme of rehabilitating the country.
26. **A Copper-plate Inscription,** Mewari Text, dated 5th of the dark-half of Ashad, V.S. 1892. It is an inscription of Jawan Singh's time, but it records the grant of land in Muroli in *Girwa* by Rana Amar Singh I, as a part of his scheme of rehabilitation.

D. Letters, Literature and Khyats :

(a) Letters in Mewari :

1. A File No. 20/11, S. 93, in the Commissioner's Office,

Udaipur recently discovered by me shows that Akbar conferred on 23rd, *Ramjan*, H. 982 (1575 A.D.) villages Rayala, Katdi, Arneta and Kanya of Hurda, Shahpura and Badnor districts on the Dargah of Ajmer from the territory of Mewar which fell to his possession after the victory of Chitor in 1568 A.D. The file further adds that Mewar took possession of these places during the wars of Rana Pratap and Amar Singh. Shah Jahan again conferred them on the Dargah. But during Jagat Singh's or Raj Singh's time it seems that they were again occupied. It was Rana Jagat Singh II (1734-1751 A.D.) who again gave them back and since they are in the Jagirs of the Dargah.

2. **A Patta of Jagat Singh,** Mewari Text, dated 15th of the bright-half of V.S. 1707 (1650 A.D.). It is a kind of general circular order of Jagat Singh that I recently discovered in the Commissioner's Office, Udaipur (vide Photo-plate 26/240, File S. 95). It records that all the *pargana* officers and Jagirdars should stop taking forced work from Dohaliyas (free land holders), Sarapias (Kalals) and Bolawas (escorts). They were also instructed not to collect military contribution in the form of milk, curd, beddings and wood, etc.

3. **A Patta of Raj Singh,** Mewari Text, dated 8th of the dark-half of Kartik, V.S. 1734 (9th Oct., 1677 A.D.). It is a *patta* addressed to the *pargana* officer not to demand '*Bhog*' of winter crop from Dangi Bhima.

(*b*) *Sanskrit Literature :*

1. **Amarsar** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 709), by Pt. Jivadhar, Sanskrit Text in Verse, dated V.S. 1685 (1628 A.D.). It is a historical Kavya which deals with the history of Rana Pratap, Amar Singh I and Rana Karan Singh. It was completed during the reign of Karan Singh and was written during the reign of Amar Singh I, with whose name the work is associated. It is mainly divided into five chapters and these chapters are again sub-divided

into parts dealing with different topics concerning the events of the reign of the respective Ranas. As a contemporary work of Rana Amar Singh I and Karan Singh I its historical value is undeniable. It informs us of the peace and order during Rana Pratap's later period. As regards Amar Singh's administrative measures the work is a storehouse of information. The writer frankly writes about the luxurious life of Rana Amar Singh into which he indulged in his later days after the conclusion of peace with the Mughals in 1615 A.D. The work has been used by me for the first time.

2. **Amar Bhushan** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 515). It is a MS. written during the time of Amar Singh I which is clear from the colophon. But unfortunately the name of the writer is not given. It is a work on Astronomy in which, it seems, Rana Amar Singh was interested. It does not throw light on political history. The work has been used by me for the first time.

3. **Jagat Singh Kavya** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 715) by Raghunath, the contemporary of Jagat Singh. It is mainly a historical *Kavya* dealing with the reign of Jagat Singh I. It is a work of nine cantos dealing with different events of the early Ranas and then Jagat Singh's love for learning, his foreign policy, his attitude towards law and order, religious tour to Banaras and Mathura and the administrative measures as regards collection of revenue and laws regarding punishment. The work has been used by me for the first time.

4. **Jagat Simhastaka** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 1304) by Mohan Bhatt, in eight verses. It is mainly a literary piece but here and there it furnishes some facts of historical value, as for example, Jagat Singh's founding of charitable institutions, mild administration and helping needy persons with food and clothing. The writer was a contemporary of Jagat Singh I. It also remains as an unexplored work.

5. **Amarkavya Vanshavali** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS.), by Ranchhod Bhatt, the writer of Raj Prashasti and contemporary

of Jagat Singh and Raj Singh. It was written just after the completion of Raj Prashasti in V.S. 1732. The writer has attempted the history of Mewar from Bapa to Raj Singh's time. I have examined the greater details of this work in the proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission of 1946. It gives the actual place of the battle of Haldi Ghati at Rakta Tal which is also corroborated by Badaoni. It also throws light on various places in which Pratap took shelter during the days of his fight against the Mughals. Kr. Karan's invasion of Sironj and Khurram's stay at Udaipur are also mentioned in it. The destruction of Chitor by Sadullah Khan has also been given by the writer. Much of the political history of Raj Singh's time has been dropped by the writer as it is mentioned in *Raj Prashasti*.

6. **Raj Ratnakar** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 718). It is another poetical work in Manuscript written by Sada Shiva during Raj Singh's reign in V.S. 1733. It is divided in 22 cantos and deals with the history of Mewar from early days of Bapa to Raj Singh's time. Though it is not a contemporary work of Rana Pratap's time, it furnishes valuable information as regards the Bhils' fight and their plundering the enemy's camp after the termination of the battle at mid-day which is not unlikely. For Raj Singh's time it is a most valuable source of information. It gives details of the Rana's expedition to the lost part of the dominions in Mewar when the war of succession among Shah Jahan's sons was in progress. Similarly it gives an account of Dara's letter which the Rana received at his camp of Kekri. It also furnishes sufficient information about Raj Samudra's completion ceremony and the religious tours of the royal family to Banaras during his period. It has also been used by me for the first time.

7. **Other Sanskrit works** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MSS.). There are several other MSS. in S. B. L., Udaipur, like **Amar Vilas, Amar Bhusan,** No. 545, **Raj Simhastaka** of Mukand, No. 1303, **Raj Ratnakar** of Dhundhi Raj, No. 907, **Mandalik**

Mahakavya of Gangadhar No. 1511, and **Raj Vallabh** by Mandan No. 1562, which are of literary value. Though they are not important for political history they are valuable as they give us an idea of the progress of Sanskrit literature, the character and taste of the Ranas, the names of various writers and poets of the period and the art of calligraphy of the time.

(*c*) ***Khyats and Bardic Literature*** :

This includes *Khyats* or *Vanshavalis*. bardic songs or poems written in Mewari or Hindi. They mostly belong to the 17th century A.D. Their lack of dates, confusion in the order of events, abundance of supernatural episodes and gossipy tales make them unreliable as chronicles of the time. Hence proper care has been shown to accept only what appeals as historical and the rest of the matter has been rejected. The greater part of this source is used by me for the first time.

1. **Davavet** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 978). It is a part of a big MS. which contains materials of various character. It informs us that at the invasion of Chitor by Akbar the council of nobles and leading men of the fort advised Rana Udai Singh to leave the fort. It appears to be the work of Udai Singh's time because it ends with Udai Singh and it looks in a most decayed state.
2. **Vanshavali Suryathi** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 207). It is a part of a MS. of 400 folios. It gives the genealogy of the Rana of Mewar from Brahma to Udai Singh's time. In the list of the Ranas it does not include the name of Vanbir as he was an usurper.
3. **Nensi's Khyat** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 701). It is a Manuscript copy of the original Khyat from Bikaner. The writer of this Khyat, Nensi, was Prime Minister of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. He tried to collect the traditional or written accounts known to Rajasthan before his time. Of all the Khyats hitherto known Nensi's Khyat is most exhaustive and to some extent reliable in comparison to other Khyats. Though Nensi was a contempor

to Rana Jagat Singh and Raj Singh he has not paid much attention to the happenings in Mewar. A few references for the early history have been taken from it. Nensi tells us that at the battle of Haldi Ghati the Rana's forces were encamped in a village named Lohsing and that of Man Singh at Molela. He also informs us that the Rana was informed of the arrival of the imperial army by his spies, Dursa Purbia and Net Singh.

4. **Raj Prakash** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 353), by Kishore Das. It consists of 61 folios in verse and gives an account from Bapa to Raj Singh's time. It is a contemporary work of Raj Singh's reign. Its account of the victory of Ontala is convincing. The writer does not mention the exaggerated story of the fight of Chundawats and Saktawats, but gives simple events of its occupation. He referes to Bagh's retaliation against Mahabat Khan, the Rana's treaty with Khurram and *Tikador* festival of Rana Raj Singh.
5. **Raj Vilas** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No 354), by Man Kavi. He was a contemporary poet of Raj Singh's time. He has given a full account of Raj Singh in the exaggerated style of a Hindi poet. However, Raj Vilas stands as a useful source of Raj Singh's history. It has been found of use for the *Tikador* ceremony of Raj Singh, Rupmati's letter, the excavation of Raj Samudra lake and the measure of famine relief. As the writer was a contemporary of Jagat Singh, he has given the departmental division of the state's administration during Jagat Singh's time.
6. **Granth Vanshavali** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 209), by Maharaj Gopal Das. It gives the history of Mewar from Bapa's time to that of Rana Raj Singh. It invariably gives the strength of the Rana's army. I have used it for quoting the number of forces in possession of Raj Singh.
7. **Vanshavali** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 878). It also gives a brief account of the Ranas of Mewar. At places it gives the names of the mothers of the Ranas.
8. **Vanshavali Ranajini** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 607).

It is a manuscript of 151 folios. It gives in a brief manner the account of the Ranas, from Bapa to Raj Singh. It says that Sanga died as the result of poison given to him by his minister. It also furnishes us with the strength of Rana Pratap's army at Haldi Ghati.

9. **Rawal Ranaji ki Vat** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 876). The MS. consists of 125 folios. Unlike other Khyats the author has given details of the wars in a lucid manner. It records events based on tradition as Rani Karmeti's appeal to Humayun for help, dissatisfied nobles of Mewar and their visit to Bahadur's court, Kr. Bagh's retaliation and Rupmati's marriage. The feast of Udai Sagar to Man Singh has been given in this Khyat only and therefore it has been rejected.

10. **Sisod Vanshavali** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 867). It is a MS. of 56 folios, tracing the genealogy of the Ranas from Vishnu Nabh and coming down to Rana Sambhu Singh. Upto Raj Singh the MS. bears one hand and further it is carried down by different hands. It refers to Rupmati's letter.

11. **Suryavansh** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 827). It gives the account from Brahma to Raj Singh in one hand and from Jai Singh to Jawan Singh in different hands. It corroborates the story of Khurram's stay in Mewar.

12. **Tawarikh Vanshavali** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 872). It is a MS. of 53 folios and deals with genealogy of the Ranas from the beginning to the time of Jawan Singh. At places it has been quoted to give the approximate number of Rajput army fighting against the Mughals.

13. **Vanshavali** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 882). It begins from Vishnu Nabh and comes down to Rana Sajjan Singh. It has been used as a corroborative source to other Khyats.

14. **Phutkar Gita** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 717). It gives several songs concerning the valour of the Ranas. A few quotations of the songs have been given from this MS. as regards the valour of Sanga and Pratap.

15. **Gita Sangrah** (my personal MS.). It is a collection of songs made by me from various places in Mewar. A few songs have been quoted relating to the valour of Rana Sanga, Pratap and Raj Singh.
16. **Mewar ka Sankshipta Itihas** (S. B. L., Udaipur, MS. No. 921), by Akshya Nath. It is a modern work posterior to Vir Vinod by the family priests of the Ranas who used to keep daily diaries of their masters. It appears from the MS. that one of the ancestors of the writer, named Vageshwar, fell fighting at the battle of Khanua. The opening of negotiation by Babur and not by Sanga has been taken from this work.

E. Paintings :

1. **Rana Sanga's portrait** (*Jotdan*, Udaipur), 15″×12″. It is in the collection of the private picture gallery of the Maharana of Udaipur. The portrait bears all signs of antiquities.
2. **Rana Pratap's portrait** (*Jotdan*, Udaipur), 17″×12″. It is in the collection of the private picture gallery of the Maharana of Udaipur. The portrait though does not bear any date, appears to be quite an old one.
3. **Painting of Haldi Ghati** (*Jotdan*, Udaipur), 4″×6″. It is in the collection of the private picture gallery of the Maharana of Udaipur. It is in a sufficient worn out state and at many places the colour is also decaying. It shows the arrangement of Bhils on the hills and the engagement of the Rajput army and Mughal forces by the side of the rivar Banas. I am in possession of its photograph.
4. **Rana Pratap and Sakta meet** (Golmahal, Udaipur). It is a picture of recent art and as no other picture from *Jotdan* of this type has been noticed the story has been rejected on this and other grounds.
5. **Prithvi Raj writing a letter** (Lakshmi Vilas palace, Udaipur). It is also a portrait of recent art and as no other old picture from *Jotdan* of this type has been noticed, the story of Prithvi Raj's letter on this and other grounds has been rejected.

6. **Portrait of Farrukhfal** (*Jotdan*, Udaipur), 16"×20". It is also one of the rare pictures in India which bears at the margin '*Farrukhfal, Asaf Khan ro beto*'. Four such portraits have been noticed as yet, one in Delhi Fort Museum, Exhibit No. H-265 ; another in the photograph Album No. C-198 of the same museum : the third in the Calcutta Museum, Exhibit No. 14436. It is the fourth of its kind which was exhibited by me in the Indian Historical Records Commission 1945. It is a peculiar example of the Mughal painting that flourished at Udaipur. (For the description of the Delhi and Calcutta paintings, see Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, pp. 239-240).

F. Modern Works :

(*a*) ***Hindi*** :

1. **Vir Vinod,** by Kaviraj Shyamal Das. It is a most exhaustive work pertaining to the history of Rajputana based on Persian and Rajput sources. For the Mughal *farmans* as preserved in confidential office, Udaipur, which is not open to all, it stands as a useful source of reference. It also preserves several slab inscriptions on the history of Mewar. The work suffers from the fact that it hardly refers to any authority used by it. For the present work, however, Vols. I and II have been found of great value.
2. **Munshi Devi Prasad's works.** His works on Babur, Sanga, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzib are of high value for the study of this period.
3. **Udaipur Rajya ka Itihas,** Vols. I and II by Ojha. It offers many details from the Rajput point of view and has been helpful.
4. **Rajputana ka Itihas,** by Ojha. It deals in different volumes the history of Jodhpur, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswara and Pratapgarh. The series have helped us in understanding various details connected with Mewar.
5. **Nensi's Khyat,** Nagari Pracharini Sabha's edition.

(*b*) ***English*** :

1. **The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians,** by Elliot and Dowson, Vols. I—VII.

2. **Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,** by Tod, Vols. I and III, based on traditions and Khyats, should be read with caution.
3. **The Cambridge History of India** (Vols. III and IV, 1937).
4. **An Empire Builder of the 16th Century,** by Rushbrook Williams (1918).
5. **Babur,** by Lane-Poole (1899).
6. **Rana Sanga,** by Har Bilas Sarda (Scottish Missionary Industries, Ajmer, 1918). The book gives a critical presentation of Rajput viewpoint for the conflict between Babur and Sanga.
7. **Rajput Studies,** by A. C. Banerjee (Calcutta, 1944.)
8. **Erskine's History of India,** under Babur and Humayun, Parts I and II.
9. **Humayun,** by S. K. Banerji (Oxford University Press, 1938).
10. **Sher Shah,** by K. Qanungo (Calcutta, 1921).
11. **Sher Shah,** by Dr. A. L. Srivastava (Agra, 1950).
12. **Arabic History of Gujarat,** edited by E. Denison Ross. It is a valued work for the study of the relations of Rana Sanga with Gujarat.
13. **Ras Mala,** by Forbes (London, 1856).
14. **History of Gujarat,** by Bayley (London, 1886).
15. **Akbar the Great Mogal,** by V. A. Smith (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1919).
16. **Pratap** by, S. R. Sharma (Lahore).
17. **Maharana Pratap Singh,** by S. C. Mitra and Ghosh (Calcutta).
18. **Jahangir,** by Beni Prasad (Oxford University, Press 1922).
19. **History of Shah Jahan of Delhi,** by Banarsi Prasad (Indian Press, Allahabad, 1932).
20. **Aurangzib,** by Sir J. N. Sarkar, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1921).
21. **Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors,** by Pt. V. N. Rau.
22. **Mediaeval India and Muslim Rule in India,** by Dr. Ishwari Prasad (Allahabad, 1928).
23. **European Travellers :** Sir Thomas Roe to India (Ed. W. Foster, 1926) ; Bernier's Travels (Ed. Constable, 1914) ;

Tavernier's Travels (Ed. V. Ball, 1889) ; and Storia do Mogor, by N. Manucci (Ed. Irvin, 1907).

24. **The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India**, by Nando Lal Dey (1819).

25. **Indian Ephemeries**, Vols. V and VI (Madras).

G. Journals and Reviews :

Epigraphia Indica, Vols. II and XXVI.
Journals of Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vols. VII, XIV, XLIV, LVI.
The Punjab Historical Society, Vol. II, 1914.
Indian Historical Journal, Vol. VIII.
Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944, 1945, 1946.
Journal of the Bihar and Orissa R. Society, Vol. I, 1921.
Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports, 1920, 1921-1922.

H. Imperial Gazetteers of Rajputana, Ajmer-Merwara, U. P., C. P. and Mewar Residency Gazetteers have been used.

I. Maps. In providing maps and finding exact location of places of villages in Mewar sketch maps of Boundary Settlement Mewar, Rajasthan Govt. have been studied.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX VII

THE SO-CALLED RAJ SINGH'S LETTER TO AURANGZIB

Comparative texts of the Letters as given by W. B. Rouse and Sir J. N. Sarkar based on Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. No. 56 and Royal Asiatic Society MS. No. 71 respectively.

ROUSE.

(a) "All due praise be rendered to the glory of Almighty, and the munificence of your majesty, which is conspicuous as the sun and moon. Although I, your wellwisher has separated from your sublime presence, I am never-the-less zealous in the performance of every bounden act of obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenuous services are employed to promote the prosperity of the Kings, Nobles, Mirzas, Rajas and Roys of the provinces of Hindostan, and the chiefs of Aeraun, Turaun, Room and Shawm, the inhabitants of seven climates and all persons travelling by land and by water. This my inclination is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former services, and your Majesty's condescension I presume to solicit the royal attention to some circumstances in which the public as well as private welfare is greatly interested."

SARKAR.

(a) "This **firm and constant well-wisher Shavaji,** after rendering thanks for the grace of God and favours of the emperor—which are clearer than the sun—begs to inform your Majesty that, although this well-wisher **was led by his adverse Fate to come away from your august presence without taking leave,** yet he is ever ready to perform to the fullest extent possible and proper, everything that duty as a servant and gratitude demand of him." "My excellent services and devotion to the welfare of the State are fully known to the Princes, *Khans*, *Amirs*, *Rajahs* and *Rais* of India, to the rulers of Persia, Central Asia, Turkey and Syria, to the inhabitants of the seven climes of the globe and to wayfarers on land and sea, and very likely their light has flashed on your Majesty's capacious mind. So, with a view to rendering good services and earning the imperial favour, I submit the following word in a spirit of devotion to the public welfare":

(b) "I have been informed that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your wellwisher; and that you have ordered a tribute to be levied to satisfy the exigencies of your exhausted treasury."

"May it please your Majesty, your royal ancestor Mahomed Jelaul-ul-Deen Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every type of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David or Mahomed ; were they Brahmins, were they of the sect of Daharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to change, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour : inso-much that his people in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded them, distinguished him by the appelation of Jaggat Gooroo (Guardian of Mankind)."

(c) "His Majesty Mahomed Noorul Deen Jehangheer, like-wise, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended for a period of twenty-two years, the shadow of his protection over the heads of his people ; successful by

(b) "It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied the imperial treasury, your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *Jaziya* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please your Majesty ! That architect of the fabric of empire (Jalaluddin), Akbar Padishah, reigned with full power for 52 (lunar) years. He adopted the admirable policy of universal harmony (*Sulh-i-kul*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dadu's followers, sky-worshippers (falakia), malakias, materialists (ansarias), atheists (daharia), Brahmin and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all the people. So, he became famous, under the title of world's spiritual guide (Jagat Guru)."

(c) "Next, the Emperor Nur-ud-din Jahangir for 22 years spread his gracious shade on the head of the world and its dwellers, gave his heart to his friends and his hand to his work and gained his desires. The emperor Shah

a constant fidelity to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of his arm in business."

"Nor less did the illustrious Shah Jehan, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue."

Jahan for 32 years cast his blessed shade on the head of the world and gathered the fruit of eternal life,—which is only another name for goodness and fair fame,—as the result of his happy time on earth."

(d) (This part seems to have been omitted).

(d) (Verses)
"He who lives with a good name gains ever-lasting wealth, because after his death recital of his good deeds keeps his name alive."

(e) "Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors. Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles, where-soever they directed their steps, conquests and prosperity went before them ; and then they reduced many countries and fortresses to their obedience. During your Majesty's reign, many have been alienated from the empire, and further loss of territory must necessarily follow, since devastation and rapine now universally prevail without restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and every province of your empire is impoverished ; depopulation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When Indigence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his princes, what can be the condition of the nobles ?

(e) "Through the auspicious effect of this sublime disposition, wherever he (Akbar) bent the glance of his august wish, victory and success advanced to welcome him on the way. In his reign men of kingdoms and forts were conquered. The state and power of these emperors can be easily understood from the fact that Alamgir Padishah has failed and become bewildered in the attempt to merely follow their political system. They, too, had the power of levying the *Jaziya* ; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men high and low, created by God to be (living) examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their kindness and benevolence endure on the

As to the soldiery, they are in murmurs : the merchants complaining, the Mahomedans discontented, the Hindus destitute and multitudes of people, wretched even to the want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads throughout the day in rage and desperation."

"How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people thus miserably reduced ? At this juncture it is told from east to west that the emperor of Hindostan jealous of the poor Hindoo devotee will exact a tribute from Brahmins, Sanorahs, Joghies, Berawghies, Sanyasees; that, regardless of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race, he condescends to exercise his power over the solitary in-offensive anchoret."

pages of Time and their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these three pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongue of mankind among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intention. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety (in their reigns) and their undertakings succeeded."

"But in your Majesty's reign, many of the forts and the provinces have gone out of your possession and the rest will soon do so too, because **there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are downtrodden : the yield of every village has declined, in the place of one lac of rupees only one thousand, and in the place of a thousand only ten are collected,** and that too with difficulty. When poverty and beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the emperor and the princes, the condition of the grandees and officers can be easily imagined. **It is a reign in which the Army is in a ferment, the merchants complain, the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled : most men lack bread at night and the day time in-**

flame their own cheeks by slapping them (in anguish). How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the Jaziya to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that the emperor of Hindustan coveting the beggars' bowls, takes *Jaziya* from Brahmins and Jain Monks, Yogis, Sanyasis, Bairagis, paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches and the famine-stricken, that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars, that he dashes down (to the ground) the name and honour of the Timurids !"

(f) "If your Majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all man-kind, not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in His presence. Distinction of colour are of His ordination. It is He who gives existence. In your temples, to His name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of images, where the bell is shaken, still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other men is to set at naught the pleasure of Almighty. When we deface a picture, we natu-

(f) "May it please your Majesty ! If you believe in the true Divine Book and word of God (that is the Quran) you will find there (that God is styled) Rabbul-alamin, the lord of all men and not Rabbul-musalmin, the Lord of the Muhammadans only. Verily, Islam and Hinduism are terms of contrast. They are (diverse pigments) used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling in the outlines (of His picture of the entire human species). If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in rememberance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him

rally incur the resentment of the painter : and justly has the poet said, 'presume not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of power divine'."

only. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is equivalent to altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw (new) lines on a picture is to find fault with the painter (Verses)."

(g) (Verses seem to be omitted).

(g) **Lay not thy hand in disapproval on anything you see, be it good, be it bad, to call the handy work faulty is to find fault with the craftsman.**

(h) "In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to justice : it is equally foreign from good policy, as it must impoverish the country : moreover, it is an innovation and infringement of the laws of Hindostan. But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to determine upon this measure, **the demand ought, by the rules** of equity, to have been made first upon Ram Sing, who is esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoos. Then let your well-wisher, be called upon with whom you will have less the difficulty to encounter ; but to torment ants and flies is unworthy of a heroic or generous mind. It is wonderful that the ministers of your government should have neglected to instruct your Majesty in the rules of rectitude and honour."

(h) "In strict justice *Jaziya* is not at all lawful. From the political point of view it can be allowed only if **a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one country to another without fear or molestation. [But] in these days** even **the cities are being plundered,** what shall I say of the open country ? Apart from its injustice this imposition of *Jaziya* is an innovation in India and inexpedient."

"If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus you ought first to levy the *Jaziya* **from Rana Raj Singh who is the head of the Hindus.** Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit."

"I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of

the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw ! May the sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness !"

N.B.—For the facility of a comparative idea of both the letters alphabetical indications have been made and difference of ideas contained in them have been printed in bold letters.

APPENDIX VIII

N.B.—*I propose to give the correct version of the original verses quoted in the foot-notes.*

Page 7, Foot-note No. 1 :

"सिंधोस्तु सिंधोस्तट उत्तरस्य
नद्याश्च बाष्पस्य भूयास्ति सीमा'

Page 8, Foot-note No. 4 :

'तौरुष्कामिनमुण्डमण्डनमिथ.
संघदृवाचालिता ।
यस्याद्यापि वदन्ति कीर्तिमभितः
संग्राम सिंहाभुवः ॥'

Page 8, Foot-note No. 5 :

(अ) 'हाडावटीदेशपतीन् स जित्वा
तन्मंडलं चात्मवशीचकार ।
तदत्र चित्रं खलु यत्करांतं
तदेव तेषामहि यो बभंज ॥'

(ब) 'दंडाखंडितचंडमंडलकरप्राचीरमाचूर्णयत्
तन्मध्योद्धतधीरयोधनिधनं निम्र्माय निम्र्मायधीः ।
हाडामंडलमुंडखंडनधृतस्फूर्ज्जत्कबंधोद्धुरं
कृत्वा संगरस्मात्मसाद्वसुमतीं श्रीखेतसिंहो व्यधात्' ॥

Page 8, Foot-note No. 5 :

(स) 'ढिल्लीचारुपुरेश्वरेण व (ब) लिना स्पृष्टोपि नो पाणिना
राज्ञा श्रीमददावदीति विलमन्नाम्ना गजस्वामिना ।
सोपि क्षेत्रमहीभुजा निजभुजप्रौढप्रतापादहो
भग्नो विश्रुतमंडलाक्रांतिगडो जित्वा समस्तानरीन् ॥'

Page 9, Foot-note No. 6 :

(अ) [illegible] [बहु] गो रत्नानि यत्नादयं
दायं दायममायया व्यतनुत ध्वस्तांतरायो गया ।
तीर्थानां करमाकलय्य विधिनान्यत्रापि युंक्ते धनं
प्रौढप्रादनिवद्धतीर्थमगमन्निजाग्रजगोनोदहः ॥'

'संग्रामे लुंटितानां प्रतिनृपमहसां राशयस्ते किमेते ।
विंध्यं बंधुं समेतुं किमु समुपगताः साधु हेमाद्रिपादाः ॥'

(ब) 'लक्षं सुवर्णानि ददौ द्विजेभ्यो
लक्षस्तुलादानविधानदक्षः ।
एतत् प्रमाणं विधिरित्यतोसा—
वजेन सायो (यु) ज्यसुखं सिषेवे ॥'

Page 9, Foot-note No. 7 :

(अ) 'यस्याग्रे समभूत्पलायनपरः पेरोजखान स्वयम्'

(ब) 'कोणेकूणित कर्णधारविभवः श्रीमोकलोभूप्पवः ।
प्रोढिनावमुपेयुपो जलधरः पीरोजपृथ्वीभुज ॥'

Page 9, Foot-note No. 8 :

(अ) 'निपात्य दुर्गं परिखां प्रपूर्य
गजान्गृहीत्वा यवनीश्च बध्वा ।
अदंडयद्यो यवनाननन्तान्
विडंबयन्गुर्जरभूमिभर्तुः ॥'
'असौगिरोमंडनचन्द्रतारं
विचित्रकूटं किल चित्रकूटम् ।'

(ब) ‘श्रीविक्रमात्पंचदशाधिकेस्मिन् वर्षे शते पंचदशे व्यतीते ।
चैत्रासितेनंगतिथौ व्यधायि [illegible] ॥’
‘महोमदो युक्ततरो न चैपः
स्वस्वामिघातेन धनार्जनत्वात् ।
इतीव सारंगपुरं विलोड्य
महंमदं त्याजितवान्महामदम् ॥’
‘एतद्दग्धपुराग्निवाडवमसौ
यन्मालवांभोनिधिं ।
क्षोणीशः पिबतिस्म खड्गचुलुकै
स्तस्मादगस्त्यः स्फुटम् ॥’

Page 13, Foot-note No. 18 :

‘मुद्दफ्फरं गुर्ज्जरेशं जित्वातद् शिविरं दहत् ।
बंगादहमदावाद विजयं व्यतनोद्वली ॥’

Page 13, Foot-note No. 19 :

‘दिल्लीश्वरादिभूपेभ्यो गृहीत्वा पृथिवीं बलात्’

Page 14, Foot-note No. 20 :

‘सोयं सांग महीपतिः स्मरतनुः श्रीमांडवाख्यालसत् ।
दुर्गेशात् यवनेश्वरं बलयुतं बध्वा त्यजत्सत्कृपः ॥’
‘वारत्रयो महताबलेन मांडव्यदुर्गाधिपतिं निरूध्य ।
मुमोच तं लुंटितसर्ववित्तस्तत्साम्यतांयाति धरातलेकः ॥’
‘संस्थाप्य पद्मिनीगेहे कारायां चित्रकूटके’

Page 16, Foot-note No. 22 :

‘सांगो दामण त्रहुँ सुरताण’
‘बध्वा येन मुहुर्मुहुः किल सुरत्राणो विमुक्तो रणे ।
राहप्पान्वयभूपणेन महता संग्रामसिहेन वै ॥’

Page 17, Foot-note No. 24 :

‘आगरानगरस्थायी बब्बरो नगराड्युतः ।
कृत्वा सार्द्धप्रधानेन विचारं [illegible] ॥’

Page 31, Foot-note No. 81 :

‘षानुवानगरे तत्र शिविरंव्यतनोत्ततः’

Page 35, Foot-note No. 103 :

'तुंबरो यः सिलहदी लुंटितो निर्जिनो रणे
अन्येपि देशपाला ये जिता संग्रामभूभुजा
....
ते दिल्ली शेन मिलिता.....................

Page 39, Foot-note No. 112 :

'कालपीमध्य आगतः
संग्रामस्य तदाखिलैः
गरदानं कृतं तैस्तैः
संग्रामं तादृशं पुनः'
'आनीय मंडलगढे मेदपाटे पुरे क्रियां।
चक्रुरेतस्य तेसर्वे स्वामिद्रोहकृनो नृपाः॥'

Page 55, Foot-note No. 6 (b) :

'वर्षेसप्तनवत्याख्येगते पंचदशे शते'
'.........उदयसिंहः महाबलैयुन. चित्रकूटे प्रविष्ट.'

Page 55, Foot-note No. 19 :

'अजमेर स जग्राह सुरतानाय तं ददौ।
रावाय सर्ववेरांच पठानेभ्यो गृहीतवान्॥'

Page 67, Foot-note No. 56 :

'शब्दोमहानेव बभूव पंचक्रोशावधिस्थायी जनैः श्रुतश्च'

Page 67, Foot-note No. 60 :

'ततः शरैः कुंतवरैः [illegible] संख्ये।
विखंडिता दुर्गभटैः स्वदुर्गे दिल्लीशवीरा बहुशो निपेतुः॥

Page 68, Foot-note No. 61 :

'[illegible] श्रीजैमलाख्यो रविमंडल महत्।
विभिद्य पश्चात् त्रिदिवं प्रयातः,.....................
....................., अंतपुरे ज्वालित एवतद्भटैः॥'

Page 70, Foot-note No. 66 :

'त्रिंशत्सहस्रप्रमितास्तुयोधा दिल्लीपते प्रोद्धरयुद्धयोधाः'

Page 74, Foot-note No. 6 :

'हस्त्यश्व अन्येस्तु (?) सुशंखचक्र
प्रवालमुक्तामणिमुख्य चिन्हैः ।
स्वसत्वमालोक्य तनौर्यदीय
ऐश्वर्यमुख्यैः श्रियते गुणौघैः ॥'
'विशाल मुखद्वर भालमुच्च (?)
प्रताप लक्ष्मैयक निवास भूमिं ।
निरीक्ष्य मिथ्याभिमतोद्धतत्वं
त्यजंति चान्ये भुवि पार्थिवौघाः ॥'

Page 80, Foot-note No. 16 :

'मानसिंहेन तस्यासीद्वैमनस्यं भुजादिजः'

Page 85, Foot-note No. 39 :

'गिरस्थहारिद्र कघहृमध्ये
प्रतापसिंहः सततः प्रविष्ट

Page 85, Foot-note No. 40 :

'कालांजनाजलनिभा अथसन्नियुक्ता
सप्तायुतं समिति राणपुरंदरेणा ।
भिल्लामहांवुदघटारवतीव्रवेगा
भल्लान् ववर्षुररिसैन्यमहीतलेपु ॥'

Page 86, Foot-note No. 46 :

'हस्तिध्वजेप्रचलितध्वजिनीमुखेच'
'ततः परंते मिलिते ध्वजिन्यौ'

Page 87, Foot-note No. 47 :

'कृत्वा करे खड्गलतां स्ववल्लभां
प्रतापसिंहे समुपागते प्रगे'

Page 87, Foot-note No. 47 :

'प्रातः पुनः ध्वनति चाह चतूर्यघोषे'

Page 87, Foot-note No. 49 :

'ततो महादुन्दुभिघोरनादैः'

Page 88, Foot-note No. 51 :

'सा खन्डिता मानवती द्विषच्चमूः
संकोचयन्ती चरणौ पराङ्मुखी'

Page 89, Foot-note No. 55 :

'एवं निवृत्तं पृतनाद्वयंतद्
संख्यसंख्ये पमनोरमध्ये ।
तूर्णं प्रपूर्णं सुतलस्तुरक्तं
चर्मणवनी मा भवद (?) वर्णनाशा ॥'

Page 90, Foot-note No. 63 :

'तन्मानसिंहस्य करीन्द्रकुंभे
निक्षेपकुतं च शिवेव शुभे'
'पलायनेच्छं प्रवभूव कुंभी'
'तस्मात्पलायतगजोधृतमानसिंहः'

Page 92, Foot-note No. 75 :

'आस्त सूर्योदयतः प्रभूते
सूर्यास्तकालावधि धन्य युद्धे
'सर्व [illegible] विहस्ता'
'अरिभवनात्गृहीतवित्तः'

Page 93, Foot-note No. 78 :

'विखंडितानां यवनेश्वरस्य
महाभटानां गणनां विधातुं ।
विद्याविनोदी गणेश्वरोपि
शक्तोन कोन्यः प्रभवेत्समर्थः ॥'

Page 101, Foot-note No. 119 :

'अमरेशः खानखानादाराणां हरणं व्यधात् ।
सुवासिनीवत् सतोष्य प्रेषयामास ताः पुन. ॥'
'कुमारस्त्वमरेश नामा म्लेच्छाभिमानक्षयकारिधामा'
'जग्राह वै शेरपुराज्जवेन
स खानखानस्यकलत्रमाप'

Page 105, Foot-note No. 130 :

'कार्यसुयुक्तया सुधियाचधर्म
शक्तया रणं मन्त्रिगणैर्विचारं ।
प्रकुर्वनीशार्चितराजतेजो
परिस्खलत्येवनयः कदाचित् ॥'

Page 110, Foot-note No. 12 :

'हस्त्यश्वपदातिसद्रथगजैरापूरयंतोधरं'

Page 110, Foot-note No. 13 :

'सिंहोपमःशौर्यगुणेनसम्यक्
कृतोधिकारी हरिदासभालः'

Page 110, Foot-note No. 14 :

'अंग वंगसुकलिंगभटौघाः
चौडगौड मरहट्ठमलिध्राः ।
गुर्जराश्चवरवाग्वरजाताः
मेवयंत्यमरसिंहपदाब्जम् ॥'

Page 110, Foot-note No. 15 :

'शकुंतनाराचशितास्ततार
यद्राजधान्यं गणशस्त्र शोभाम्'

Page 115, Foot-note No. 43 :

'पुत्रोस्यं कर्णसिंहाख्यः
सिरोंजं मालवाभुवम् ।
धिंधोराख्यं बभंजात्र
दंडं चक्रेऽति लुंटनम् ॥'
'पुत्रश्रीअमरेशभूपतिमणेरग्रेसराग्योरणे
रूद्धोम्लेच्छबलैः ससंगरकरेः श्रीकर्णसिंहाभिधः ।
वीरेन्द्रैः सहितः सिरोंजनगर स्याद्धा करोत्पालनम्
दंडं तत्र चकार पाररहितं भूयो महालुंटनम् ॥'

Page 121, Foot-note No. 68 :

'राणा अमरसिंहेन्द्रो जहाँगीरस्य तुष्टये
······जगत्सिंहे प्रेशितवान् ।'
'जहाँगीरो मुहुस्तस्मै भूषणादि ददौ मुदा'
'[illegible] दत्वा······गृहान्प्रति आज्ञा ददौ ॥'

Page 123, Foot-note No. 71 :

'ग्रीष्मे ऋतौ जलक्रीड़ां
विधातुं वनिताजनैः ।
प्रयाति भोगसामग्रीं
प्रवलोमरसिंहराट ॥'

Page 123, Foot-note No. 69 :

'वरचित्रकूटदुर्गो नगरंनागीन अवनिपोद्मसनः ।
मंत्रींडुंगरसिंहो धात्र्यां रत्नानि चत्वारि ॥'

Page 123, Foot-note No. 73 :

'यद्द्वारे राजधान्याः समदकरिघटावद्धगार्व्वेर्थ्यंयद्भि
लब्ध्वा वारैकदानं कग्निनुगरथग्रामवर्गानित्ादि ।
पश्चादाजन्मकालं तृणमिवगणयंनोग्विल चान्यभूपं
नैवस्याभ्यर्थयंते प्रमितसुखकला सद्बुधा जीवनान्तम् ॥'

Page 125, Foot-note No. 5 :

'तस्मादभूत् भोजसमानदानी
श्रीकर्णसिंहो धरणीशनेजः ।'

Page 127, Foot-note No. 11 :

'दिल्लीश्वराज्जहाँगीरस्तस्य खुर्रमनामकम् ।
पुत्रं विमुखतां प्राप्तं स्थापयित्वा निजक्षितौ ॥'
'खुर्रमनामकं विमुखतां यातं जहाँगीरनः ।
तद्वीरं विजितं पलायनपरं संस्थापयामास नः ॥'

Page 127, Foot-note No. 13 :

'मुक्ताहारमहार्हभूषणगणे श्रीकर्णसिंहोर्चितः'

Page 129, Foot-note No. 18 :

'कृत्वा खुर्रमनामकं विरचयन्
सत् खड्गबंधक्षमम् ।
दिल्लीशं कृतवांश्च तेन नितरां
सम्मानतो भूपतिः ॥'
'स्वर्याति यवनेश्वरे सविनयम्
भ्रात्रार्जुनेनान्वितम् ।'

Page 130, Foot-note No. 21 :

'वैपापे निजसेनया गिरिपुरं प्राध्वंसयत् भूमिपः'

Page 130, Foot-note No. 22 :

'अक्षेराजंसिरोहीशं वश्यंचक्रे ग्रहीद्भुवम्'

Page 132, Foot-note No. 30 :

'बलवानपि शक्तेन नृपः संधिं विधाय सः'

Page 132, Foot-note No. 33 :

'भवदवदानविनोदै र्दिशिदिशि देवेश राजंते'

Page 132, Foot-note No. 35 :

'प्रथमधनप्रवाहैः कार्यतां धर्मशाला'

Page 133, Foot-note No. 38 :

'[illegible]विनरन् यथावत् [illegible]'

Page 133, Foot-note No. 39 :

'प्रोक्तः पुराणेषु नरेश्वराणां यत्कोशसंवर्धनमेवधर्म':

Page 134, Foot-note No. 2 :

'[illegible]'

Page 134, Foot-note No. 3 :

'चरित्रं चिरकीर्तिचित्रं पवित्रम्'

Page 136, Foot-note No. 12 :

'यावन्न कुर्यान् प्रतिकर्मशत्रोः
तावन्न चान्तर्व्रणगत्नृजानम्'

Page 138, Foot-note No. 22 :

'दग्धं मालपुराभिख्यंनगरं [illegible] ।
दिनानां नवकं स्थित्वा लुंटनं ममकारयत् ।।'

Page 152, Foot-note No. 88 :

'घट्टत्रयस्यमार्गस्य दृष्टयर्थ प्रेपिताः भटाः'

Page 154, Foot-note No. 97 :

'अन्नाभावान्नित्यमेव लोकानान्तुचतुःशतं ।
अथाकबरआयातो मिलनंकर्तुमुद्यतः ।।'

Page 162, Foot-note No. 4 :

'भवेतां मनुजौ तत्र मेदपाटे उभावपि ।
[illegible] ।।'
'शिष्यमाधकधर्मज्ञौ गुरुशिष्यस्वरूपिणौ'
'तत्रतेपे तपो ब्रह्मन् हारीतो मुनिरुत्तमः ।।'
वाप्पः शुश्रूषणंचक्रे हारीतस्य शिवस्य च ।।'

Page 164, Foot-note No. 9 :

'दुर्गाधिराजं ममरभुविपरा'
'स्कंधावारमपारवारणगज'

Page 165, Foot-note No. 15 :

'मंत्रीडुंगरसींहो धात्र्यां रत्नानिचत्वारि'

'हस्त्यश्वपदातिरथेन भूपो
विलोक्य राज्ञामरसिंहनाम्ना ।
सिंहोपमश्शौर्यगुणेन सम्यक्
कृतोधिकारीहरिदास झाल:'

Page 166, Foot-note No. 17 :

'मेदपाटेश्वरदेशे'

'यद्देशो वहुनगरा'

Page 166, Foot-note No. 18 :

'सौन्दर्यैकनिकेतनंजनपदः श्रीमेदपाटाभिधः'

Page 166, Foot-note No. 19 :

'वरचित्रकूटदुर्गो'

Page 166, Foot-note No. 20 :

'तेजसिंहसुतः सरोषसमरे क्षोणीश्वरग्रामणी'

Page 167, Foot-note No. 21 :

'......श्रीचित्रकूट दुर्गे तह्लारक्षाच पितृक्रमायाताम्'

Page 168, Foot-note No. 29 :

'उचितभाग माप्नोति श्रेयसां संपदामपि'

'प्रोक्तः पुराणेषु नरेश्वराणां
यत्कोशसंबर्धनमेव धर्मः ।
धर्मार्ज्जितैरेव धनैरजस्त्रं
तनोति कोशं सुकृती स तेन ॥'

Page 169, Foot-note No. 35 :

'विनापराधं लोकेस्मिन् वंधोमोक्षोपि न नृणाम्'

Page 169, Foot-note No. 38 :

'धर्माचरणा सुजना धर्मोपि दयामयोयत्र'

Page 170, Foot-note No. 39 :

'दंड्येषु दंडं वितरन् यथावत्
पराशरप्रोक्तमतानुसारी ।'

Page 170, Foot-note No. 40 :

'ज्वलनयंत्रधरैः प्रचण्डैः'

'बहुवह्निशस्त्रैः'

Page 174, Foot-note No. 51 :

'चतुर्दशविद्याविनोदरसिक'

Page 175, Foot-note No. 53 :

'जयति सुमतिपूर्णो डुंगरोमात्यराजः'

APPENDIX IX

Date Summary

V.S.	A.D.	EVENTS
623	566	Gohilya
1383 1421	1326 1364	Hammir
1421	1364	Kshetra Singh's accession
1439	1382	Lakha's accession
1485	1428	Firoz Khan's defeat
1490	1433	Kumbha's accession
1525	1468	Kumbha's death
1530	1473	Raimal's accession
1561 1565	1504 1508	Sanga's exile
1565	1508	Sanga's accession
1571	1514	Sanga's war against Gujarat
1576	1519	Sanga's victory over the Sultan of Malwa
1584	1527	Sanga's march against Babur
		Victory of Bayana
		Babur reached Mandakur
1584	1527	Sanga left Bhusawar and reached Khanua
		Battle begins at Khanua
1585	1528	Sanga's death
1585	1528	Ratan Singh's accession
1588	1531	Surajmal and hunting excursion
		Ratan Singh's death
1588	1531	Vikramaditya's accession

V.S.	A.D.	
1589	1532	Mahammad Khan Asiri ordered to assault the fort of Chitor
1590	1533	Humayun returned to Agra
		Asiri reached Chitor
		Bahadur raised the siege of Chitor
1592	1535	Rumi Khan's artillery action at Chitor
		The capture of the fort
1593	1536	Humayun visited Chitor
1593	1536	Vanbir's accession
1594	1537	Udai Singh at Kumbhalgarh
1597	1540	Udai Singh's accession
1601	1544	Sher Shah's march towards Chitor
1602	1545	Maldev recovered his territory
1611	1554	Udai Singh's alliance with Surjan of Bundi
1613	1556	Udai Singh's victory against Haji Khan Pathan of Ajmer
1619	1562	Udai Singh gave shelter to Man Singh Deora of Sirohi
		Rana's hospitality to Baz Bahadur of Malwa
		Akbar's victory at Merta
1624	1567	Akbar's march towards Chitor, Sakti Singh's flight
1625	1568	Akbar's occupation of Chitor
1626	1569	Akbar's occupation of Ranthambhor
1627	1570	Akbar's occupation of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer
1629	1572	Pratap's accession
	•	Jagmal's contest
1630	1573	Peace missions sent to Mewar under Man Singh, Raja Bhagwan Das and Raja Todar Mal
1631	1574	Village Dhol granted to Puno by Pratap
1632	1575	Quelling of the troubles at Jodhpur
1633	1576	Man Singh left Ajmer for Mewar
		Reached Haldi Ghati
		Battle of Haldi Ghati
		Narain Das of Idar defeated by the Mughal officers
		Akbar turned back to Udaipur

V.S.	A.D.	
1634	1577	The Mughal outposters in Mewar
1635	1578	Kumbhalgarh in the Mughal possession
		Amar Singh's valour
		Shahbaz Khan sent to Mewar
1636	1579	Shahbaz Khan again in Mewar
1637	1580	Khan-i-Khanan's appointment for conducting Mewar campaign
1642	1585	Pratap's occupation of Chhappan
1653	1597	Pratap's death at Chavand
		Amar Singh's accession
1655	1598	Salim's invasion of Mewar
1660	1603	Salim's second invasion of Mewar
1662	1605	Parviz sent against the Rana
1665	1608	Mahabat Khan and Mewar campaign
1666	1609	Abdullah's war in Mewar
1669	1612	Raja Basu and Mewar
1670	1613	Aziz Koka sent to Mewar and Janangir set out for Ajmer
		Khurram started for Mewar
1671	1614	Khurram sent 'Alam Kaman' to the emperor
1672	1615	Treaty with Mewar
1676	1620	Amar Singh's death
1677	1620	Karan Singh's accession
1678	1621	Rampol Inscription
1680	1623	Khurram defeated at Bilochpur
1681	1624	Battle of Damdama
1684	1627	Jahangir's death
1685	1628	Karan Singh's death
1685	1628	Jagat Singh's accession
1685	1628	Plunder of Devliya
1690	1633	Jhala Kalyan at the Mughal court
1700	1643	Shah Jahan came to Ajmer
1704	1647	Jambuvati started for pilgrimage
1709	1652	Construction of Jagadish temple completed
1709	1652	Jagat Singh's death
1709	1652	Raj Singh's accession

V.S.	A.D.	
1711	1654	Shah Jahan left for Ajmer
		Sadullah Khan to Mewar
		Ram Chandra of Bedla sent to the emperor
1715	1658	Aurangzib's letters to Raj Singh from Deccan
		Raj Singh and his '*Tikador*' ceremony
		Aurangzib's victory over Dara
1716	1659	Coronation and Aurangzib's ordinances
1717	1660	Raj Singh's marriage with Charumati
1719	1662	Raj Singh subdued Minas
		Construction work of Raj Samudra lake
1721	1664	Construction of Giyan Sagar
1726	1669	Aurangzib's general order to demolish temples
1726	1669	Rising of the Jats
1729	1672	Rising of the Satnamis
1731	1674	Construction of walls and a door-way at Deobari
1732	1675	Rising of the Sikhs
1735	1678	Jaswant Singh's death
1736	1679	*Jazia* imposed
		Jaya Singh returned back to Udaipur
		Mughal control over Marwar
		Sarbuland Khan posted for Marwar
		Tahavvur Khan sent to Mewar
		Prince Azam for Mewar
1737	1680	Aurangzib's victory at Deobari
		Aurangzib returns back to Ajmer
		Destruction of temples at Udaipur
		Prince Akbar reached Deosuri
1737	1680	Raj Singh's death
1738	1681	Akbar's escape
		Jai Singh entered into alliance with the Mughals
		Aurangzib's *farman* for Jai Singh
1748	1691	Construction of Jai Samudra completed
1755	1698	Jai Singh's death and Amar Singh's accession
1767	1710	Sangram Singh II

APPENDIX X

The Mughal Dynasty

1.	Babur	1526 A.D.	V.S. 1583
2.	Humayun	1530 A.D.	V.S. 1587
3.	Akbar	1556 A.D.	V.S. 1612
4.	Jahangir	1605 A.D.	V.S. 1662
5.	Shah Jahan	1628 A.D.	V.S. 1684
6.	Aurangzib	1658 A.D.	V.S. 1715
7.	Bahadur Shah	1707 A.D.	V.S. 1764

APPENDIX XI

The Sur Dynasty

1.	Sher Shah	1539 A.D.	V.S. 1596
2.	Islam Shah	1545 A.D.	V.S. 1602
3.	Md. Adil Shah	1552 A.D.	V.S. 1609
4.	Ibrahim Sur	1553 A.D.	V.S. 1610
5.	Sikandar Shah	1555 A.D.	V.S. 1612

APPENDIX XII

The Lodi Dynasty

1.	Bahalol Lodi	1451 A.D.	V.S. 1508
2.	Sikandar Lodi	1489 A.D.	V.S. 1546
3.	Ibrahim Lodi	1517 A.D.	V.S. 1574

APPENDIX XIII

The Contemporary Sultans of Gujarat

1.	Muzaffar Shah II	1511 A.D.	V.S. 1568
2.	Sikandar Shah	1526 A.D.	V.S. 1582
3.	Mahmud II	1526 A.D.	V.S. 1583
4.	Bahadur Shah	1526 A.D.	V.S. 1583
5.	Muhammad Shah	1537 A.D.	V.S. 1593
6.	Mahmud III	1537 A.D.	V.S. 1594
7.	Ahmad Shah II	1554 A.D.	V.S. 1610
8.	Muzaffar Shah III	1561 A.D.	V.S. 1618

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